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(1485-1603)

BY

ADA RUSSELL M.A. (VICT.)

CONTRIBUTOR TO THE "VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORIES"
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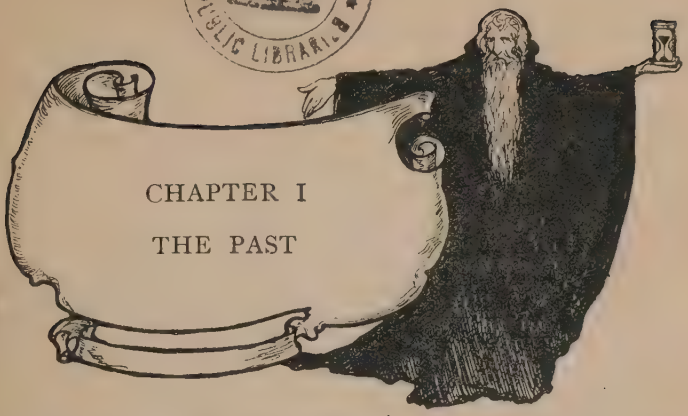


CHAPTER I

THE PAST

THE time between the accession of the first Tudor king to the throne and the reign of George V is very short in comparison with the long years of history before our period, although we know so very much more about the last five hundred years than we do about the thousands of years that preceded them. You will remember that the first book was printed in England in 1477; and before the invention of printing very few people used to take the trouble to write down what went on. Fewer people still wrote down what they were thinking about, and that was almost as necessary for history as it was to write down what actually happened.

All we know about the first dwellers in our country is from their rude tools, bones discovered in limestone caverns and other remains of that kind, but many of us are descended from these prehistoric men.

The primitive inhabitants of our island were conquered

340

by the ancient Britons, a race of wild warriors who dyed themselves with woad so that they might look terrible in battle. Protected by the deep forests and marshes with which Britain was then covered, they for a long time baffled the Romans, who conquered them in the first century A.D.

The Romans ruled over Britain as far as the Clyde and Forth, building towns, some of which afterwards became great English cities, and roads upon which we still walk to-day. Roman poets sang that the mission of the Roman people was to conquer and civilize the world, and our history has gained in interest because our island was once a member of the great Roman empire. These famous rulers were compelled to withdraw from Britain about A.D. 410, because the Goths and Vandals were attacking Italy and overrunning the whole empire. The overthrow of the Romans meant the downfall of civilization, although the barbarians of Germany finally established what they called a Roman empire. The art and literature of Greece and Rome were almost forgotten until nearly a thousand years later, when the Italians began to take an interest in the life of their Roman ancestors and started the great movement called the Renaissance, or Revival of Learning.

Meanwhile all Europe was conquered by barbarians, and passed through a period called the Dark Ages, which lasted until the end of the ninth century. The Middle Ages followed, during which the barbarians established the modern kingdoms of Europe and developed a civilization of their own. This was very much inferior to the great civilizations of Greece and Rome which had preceded it, but it was destined, at

the great Renaissance, to blossom out into the wide culture of modern times.

When the Roman legions deserted Britain the

Roman Soldiers

country was easily conquered by tribes of Anglo-Saxons who gradually welded South Britain into the one kingdom of "England," or the land of the Angles. Most of us are descended from these Anglo-

Saxons, although the blood of many other races, the prehistoric men, Celts, Danes and Normans, is mixed with theirs in our veins.

The Danes conquered many parts of England from the Anglo-Saxons, and from 1017 to 1042 the kings of Denmark ruled over all England. On the moors and lofty cliffs of the east coast may still be found urns containing the ashes, bones and ornaments of their famous dead, for the Danes were not buried in the earth, but burned after their deaths in a great "bale-fire."

The Saxon kingdom was finally overthrown in 1066, when its last king, Harold, was slain at the battle of Senlac by the Norman duke, William the Conqueror.

The Normans at first treated the native English as slaves or vassals, but gradually, by intermarriage, became absorbed in the conquered population. Henry I set an example to his people by wedding the Princess Matilda, representative of the Saxon kings, and grandmother of Henry II. When King John Lackland lost Normandy, his nobles had to choose between their Norman and their English lands, and those who elected to stay in England soon became thorough Englishmen. The French speech must have given way, in common use, to the English by 1362, when it was enacted that English should be spoken in the Law Courts.

Between 1066 and 1154 there was established in England the feudal system which arranged society into many ranks, each owing service to the one above it. When the king was strong he insisted that the lower ranks of the people owed duty to himself before that which they owed to their overlords; but when

Primitive Inhabitants of our Island

he was weak the lower orders and gentry would follow the nobles to war against the king.

During the reign of the Norman and Angevin kings, the Crown became more powerful than was usual under the feudal system, in which the king was regarded as little more than the chief overlord; but its power was reduced by the Great Charter, to which King John was forced to set his seal in 1215. From this time until the Tudor period the liberties of the nobles and commons of England gradually developed at the expense of the Crown.

The barons made successful war against Henry III and deposed Edward II, and in 1399 Henry, Duke of Lancaster (Henry IV), who had wide lands and numerous under-tenants, was able to take the throne from Richard II. The ease with which the nobles deposed Richard II encouraged later revolts, and England, in the middle of the fourteenth century, was plunged into the Wars of the Roses.

Henry VI, the Red Rose, after being for years the ward of his quarrelling uncles, was deposed by Edward, Duke of York, the White Rose, who became Edward IV. On the death of Edward IV his little sons, Edward V and his brother, were murdered in the Tower by the order of their uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III). The crimes of Richard III caused horror even in that hard and violent age, and England invited Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, now head of the house of Lancaster, and representative of the Red Rose, to marry Elizabeth, the only remaining child of Edward IV, and rule in Richard's stead. Weary of warfare, the nobles aimed at uniting the two Roses, and so ending the long struggle.

Henry conquered Richard III at the battle of Bosworth in 1485, and married Elizabeth. As a symbol of the end of the civil wars, the Tudors adopted for emblem a double rose, red in the centre and white in the outer petals. The saintly Henry VI had prophesied when the Earl of Richmond was a child that this boy would one day possess in peace the crown for which he and Edward were striving in such bloody wars. The nation had learned a very bitter lesson and gladly acquiesced in the tyranny of the Crown for over a hundred years.

One of the greatest questions in the period which we are going to study was whether the king or the Pope should be head of the Church of England, and we shall see that in the same way as this country, once a member of the Roman empire, became a separate nation, so its Church, once a member of the Roman Church, became a national Church.

St Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory the Great in 597 to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. The Normans were a very religious people, and William I introduced into England the latest ecclesiastical reforms, strictly forbidding the marriage of priests, and allowing churchmen who committed offences to be exempt from the common law of the land. His youngest son, Henry I, disliked the independence of the Church, insisted on appointing bishops himself, and drove the archbishop, Anselm, who opposed him, out of the realm. Henry II thought that clerks who committed crimes should be punished like his other subjects, and Thomas à Becket was murdered because he insisted on the right of clerks to "benefit

of clergy." But the Church was very powerful in the days of Thomas à Becket, and, because of the horror of Christendom, Henry underwent a humiliating penance at Becket's tomb, suffering himself to be scourged as he knelt there naked. One of the chief provisions of the Great Charter was that the Church in England should be free.

In the fourteenth century, however, a movement of national opposition to the Papacy started. The Statute of Provisors was passed in 1351, forbidding the Pope to make appointments to English benefices, and in 1353 and 1393 statutes of Præmunire forbade English people to go to Rome when summoned by the Pope, or to receive papal bulls. These statutes, which were not enforced under the Lancastrian kings, were revived again under the Tudors.

In addition to these attempts to make the English Church independent of the Papacy, there was a movement in the fourteenth century against the corruptions of the Church. The head of this movement was John Wycliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation." His followers, the Lollards, desired social as well as religious reform, and under Wat Tyler raised an army against Richard II. Wycliffe and his followers believed that everyone might read the Bible for themselves, and translated it into English. They believed in the right of the State to reform the Church. They disapproved of its wealth, because they discovered from the Bible that Christ and His apostles were poor. They were nearly all peasants, and in their own bitter poverty grudged the many dues which they were forced to pay to the Church. They compared the fat friar who went by "with his double chin shaking about, as

The Murder of Becket

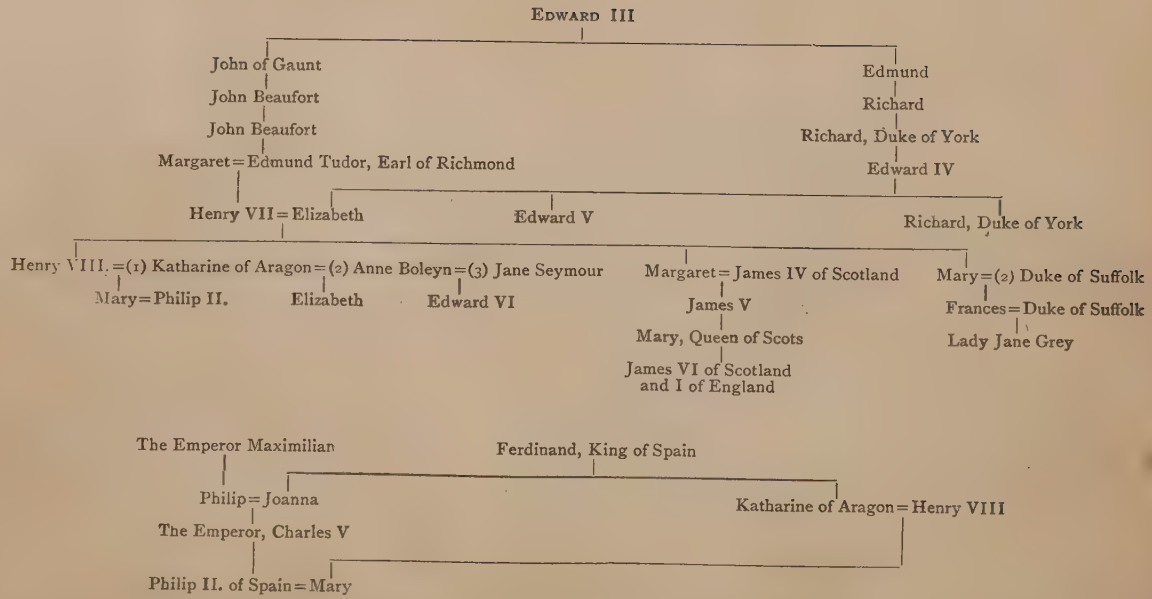
big as a goose's egg, and the ploughman with his hood full of holes and his mittens made of patches, and his poor wife going barefoot in the ice so that her blood flowed." They anticipated Puritan dislike of ecclesiastical dress and pomp and the images and ornaments of the churches. They did not believe in the mass, confession, pilgrimages or monastic life. The Lancastrian kings passed laws for burning the Lollards, but the Bible and Wycliffe's books continued to be read in secret right down to the Reformation.

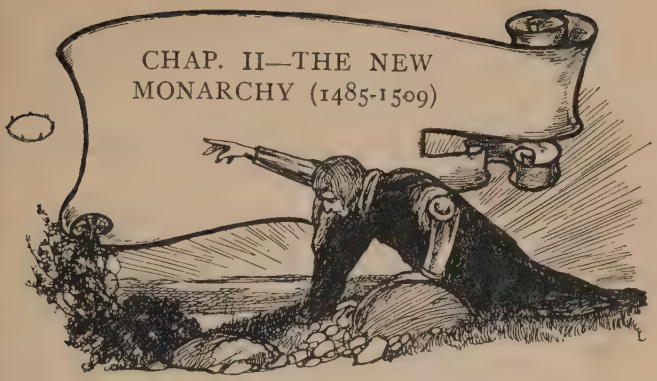
In the Tudor period we shall find that almost everybody, however good and wise, who differs from the religion of the State is burned as a heretic, and that almost everybody, however noble or innocent, who thwarts the policy of the sovereign, suffers the death of a traitor. This harsh treatment seems to be justified by the result, because England enjoyed peace while other countries were torn with strife. Italy, because of its many independent cities, became "the cockpit of Europe"; France, after the Reformation began, was the scene of terrible civil war in which a million men were slain; and Charles V, when he became emperor, himself exclaimed, "Poor Germany!" In England the commons were not yet prepared for the task of ruling, while the nobles had signally failed, and there were signs that they might have become no better than the robber-aristocrats of Germany. Goetz von Berlichingen is only a famous specimen of the noble German brigand. Once, as he was starting out to slay and steal, a band of wolves burst forth from the forest, and he tells us:

"I took pleasure in watching them, and wished good luck to them as to ourselves. I said to them,

'Good luck, comrades, good luck to us all!' and I thought it a good sign that we both started together."

From such a condition of society Tudor despotism was to save England.


EDWARD III
John of Gaunt
John Beaufort
John Beaufort
Margaret = Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond
Henry VII = Elizabeth
Edmund
Richard
Richard, Duke of York
Edward IV
Edward V
Richard, Duke of York
Henry VIII. = (1) Katharine of Aragon = (2) Anne Boleyn = (3) Jane Seymour
Mary = Philip II.
Elizabeth
Edward VI
Margaret = James IV of Scotland
James V
Mary, Queen of Scots
James VI of Scotland and I of England
Mary = (2) Duke of Suffolk
Frances = Duke of Suffolk
Lady Jane Grey
The Emperor Maximilian
Philip = Joanna
The Emperor, Charles V
Philip II. of Spain = Mary
Ferdinand, King of Spain
Katharine of Aragon = Henry VIII



CHAP. II—THE NEW MONARCHY (1485-1509)

THE battle of Bosworth was over, and on the field lay the corpse of the usurper, Richard III, who had committed so many crimes to obtain his brief sovereignty. He wore to the last the little circle of gold which had been dearer to him than the lives of all his kinsfolk, and then threw it far from him in bitter acknowledgment of his failure. It was discovered in a hawthorn bush and placed by Lord Stanley on the head of the Earl of Richmond while the victorious soldiers cried: "Long live King Henry VII!"

A fortnight later, without meeting any opposition, Henry arrived in the capital, where he was received with wild rejoicing by the citizens, the Lord Mayor and city companies, everybody eager "to touch and kiss that victorious hand which had overcome so monstrous and cruel a tyrant." In the following month his coronation took place in the Abbey. Anointed and crowned with the crown of St Edward, the King received the ring, the golden sceptre with the dove

on the top, the golden rod surmounted by a cross and the homage and oaths of fealty so often taken and broken during the century that had just passed. The temporal lords again swore to the new ruler to "become your liegeman of life and limb and of earthly worship; and faith and truth I shall bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folk, so help me God and His Hallows." Riding back from the Abbey to the royal palace in his robes of state, amidst nobles, heralds, trumpeters and minstrels, Henry VII caused two of the four swords borne before him to be sheathed, perhaps as a symbol of the peace to be inaugurated in England under the Tudor rule.

Crowned king, Henry, almost a stranger in his native land, now began the business of ruling. Son of Owen Tudor, a Welshman, he had spent nearly all his life in Brittany, and the English nobles soon found that they had called in a sovereign whose schemes and ideals were in many ways quite alien from their own. His portrait shows us not the face of a prince born in the purple, but that of some subtle Italian statesman. Nor was he, as they may have hoped, a grateful tool in their hands. Even Lord Stanley, to whom he owed his throne, found neither fear nor favour, but perished on the scaffold before the close of the reign.

Strangely enough, the man whom they had selected merely because he happened to be the least unsuitable candidate of royal blood turned out to be one of the strongest characters of the age.

Henry had lived through experiences that rarely fall to the lot of royal persons. Among his keenest childish memories must have been that of the siege of his father's castle in the Wars of the Roses, and since that

time he had been an exile and often a homeless fugitive. He found England no couch of repose after his long exile. Every remaining member of the house of York was his open or secret foe, nor was hope of a Yorkist restoration ever quite given up.

Among the many crimes with which Richard III had been charged was the murder of his elder brother George, Duke of Clarence. On Clarence's death he imprisoned the duke's little son, Edward, Earl of Warwick, a boy of ten years of age, in a strong castle in Yorkshire. The first act of Henry VII, who saw that the young earl might grow up to be a dangerous rival for the throne, was to have him brought from Yorkshire and placed in the Tower. Even in prison this child proved a serious danger.

Henry VII

Shortly after Henry's accession the Yorkist party produced a handsome boy of fifteen, Lambert Simnel, son of a baker, who, they said, was the Earl of Warwick. Carefully educated by an Oxford priest, this lowly born youth possessed great dignity and grace of person. He sailed with the priest to the lawless country of Ireland, and was crowned king in Dublin Cathedral. Some of the Yorkists went over to join him, and Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, and called "aunt of all the pretenders," sent him a band of German soldiers under Captain Martin Swart.

In June 1487 Lambert Simnel, the German soldiers and an army of ragged Irishmen landed on the coast of Lancashire and marched south. Instead, however, of being joined by the English, they caused great terror, as it was thought to be a foreign invasion; and it was a very pitiful force that at last, at Stoke-on-Trent, met Henry VII and his army. The Irish, almost naked, and armed with the most primitive weapons, were mown down like hay, but "Captain Swart and his merry men" did deeds that were talked of afterwards throughout all England. At last, after a three hours' fight, the leaders and nearly all their men lay dead upon the field. Among the few captives were Lambert Simnel and his tutor; and, with the cold calculation that characterized him, Henry VII took his revenge by turning to ridicule a foe unworthy of his steel. He told the Irish lords that they would crown apes next, and he made the pretender to the royal throne a turnspit in the royal kitchen. Simnel reigned long in this lowly sphere and, no doubt, was never allowed by his fellow-menials to forget his former presumption. Once when he was serving wine to some Irish lords they refused to receive their goblets from his traitorous hands, but the Lord of Howth, a merry and also a kind man, cried to the unhappy youth:

"Bring me the cup if the wine be good, and I shall drink it off for the wine's sake and mine own sake also; and for thee, as thou art, so I leave thee, a poor innocent."

Five years later the Yorkists induced a second pretender, Perkin Warbeck, to play the part of Richard, Duke of York, the murdered brother of Edward V.

A handsome young man as Lambert Simnel had been, Perkin Warbeck, the apprentice of a Breton silk merchant, had the manners of a royal person and bore a striking resemblance to Edward IV. Many people believed his tale and supported his cause, but he was to show in the end that he was both base and cowardly.

Perkin Warbeck had a remarkable career. He stayed with the King of France, where he was lodged magnificently and given a guard for his person. He then went on to Flanders to be even more splendidly welcomed by the Duchess Margaret. Then, with a very small force of desperate characters, Perkin unwillingly set sail for his invasion of England. Cruising along the south coast, he took care not to risk his own person in the enemy's kingdom, but landed a few troops to meet with certain death. Seized by the King's soldiers, they were hanged at intervals all along the coast, as a warning to the pretender, who hastened away with his fleet. Perkin then won the friendship of James IV of Scotland, who gave him for a wife his beautiful kinswoman, Lady Katharine Gordon. At last, hearing of a rebellion in Cornwall against Henry VII, Perkin turned toward England.

The heavy taxation of Henry VII, who was avaricious and extortionate, had already caused a rising in Yorkshire, and now the Cornishmen declared that they "would eat the bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them." About 16,000 of these poor people, led by a blacksmith and lawyer of Bodmin, set out to march to London (hoping to be joined by the men of Kent, who were reputed to be the freest in England), there to demand

the removal of the ministers they thought guilty of the King's extortions. After their long, terrible journey they met with the usual fate of poverty and ignorance in conflict with the forces of a strong government. Relying only on their archery, for which Cornishmen had always been famed, they were utterly defeated, and 2000 were slain at Blackheath, in 1496. The blacksmith and lawyer were hanged, the blacksmith firmly believing that their deeds would be handed down in story and song; and the rest were sent back to their homes, with the exception of a noble, Lord Audley, whose help they had won. On him the King placed a paper cap, and he was mocked at along the route from the field to Tower Hill, where he was beheaded.

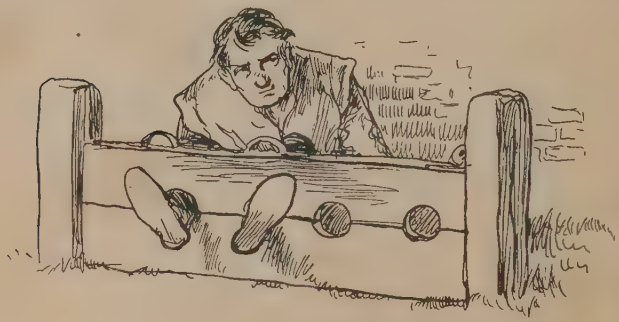
It was in a desperate mood that the Cornishmen returned to their families, and when Perkin Warbeck appeared in Bodmin 3000 men assembled in the market-place and acclaimed him as Richard IV. The Cornishmen promised to stand by Perkin to the last drop of their blood, but, hearing of the approach of the King's army, he stole away by night, and left them, galloping for life through the New Forest toward the sea. He was finally taken and placed in the stocks in various parts of London, so that the populace might have an opportunity of mocking the would-be king.

He was then imprisoned in the Tower, and allowed, perhaps purposely, to have communication with the Earl of Warwick. "It was ordained," wrote Bacon, "that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree." Having spent all his childhood and youth in imprisonment, and entertaining no hope of ever obtaining his liberty, the Earl of Warwick lent an ear

Lord Audley after Blackheath

to the desperate plots of Warbeck. They were betrayed, and the King pounced eagerly upon his prey. Perkin Warbeck was hanged at Tyburn, and the Earl of Warwick ended his sad life on Tower Hill. With the execution of Perkin Warbeck, the Wars of the Roses came to an end in 1499.

Not only had Henry VII become undisputed King



The Stocks

of England, he had also made the kingship a greater force than it had been since Norman times, having broken down the feudal system. Many great lords had lost their land during the Wars of the Roses, and Henry caused an important law, called the Statute against Livery and Maintenance, to be passed by Parliament in 1487. By this statute no one might have any but his domestic servants dressed in his livery, and it prevented the nobles from keeping large bands of retainers, who might be armed against the King. Henry caused it to be strictly observed. Once he paid a visit to a very loyal nobleman, the Earl of Oxford, and entered his castle between two long lines of liveried attendants, assembled to receive the sovereign.

Henry was magnificently entertained, and said no word of rebuke to the earl until his departure, when he remarked that his laws had been broken, and caused his host to pay a fine of £10,000.

Henry VII was very ingenious in finding new ways for making money. If his subjects made any display of wealth he used to borrow large sums from them, saying that they were evidently rich; if they lived simply he still demanded payments from them, saying that they were evidently putting money by. His minister, Cardinal Morton, was blamed for this device, which was known as "Morton's Fork." Henry not only founded the strong Tudor monarchy to which people and Parliament had almost always to give way, but he left a full treasury to his successor.

The old Star Chamber

The court established by the King to try offenders under his new Statute against Livery and Maintenance was also called the Court of Star Chamber, as the ceiling of the room in which it sat was painted with stars. At first it was very popular, and people brought cases to be tried before it when they could not obtain justice in the ordinary courts; but later on the great lawyers and statesmen who sat in it as judges became mere instruments of the Crown, and condemned anyone whom the sovereign chose to have condemned,

and it was abolished as a great national evil during the reign of Charles I.

Henry's foreign policy was as successful as his domestic rule. England and Scotland had been at war, off and on, for nearly three centuries, but Henry started a friendship between the two countries by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. It was Margaret's great-grandson who, in 1603, came to the throne of England as James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, thus uniting the two Crowns.

Henry kept on good terms with the Irish, as we shall see later, but by Poynings' Law, passed in 1494, the independence of the Irish Parliament was taken away.

Abroad the King took the part of Spain against France, arranging a marriage, which took place in 1501, between his eldest son, Arthur, and the Spanish princess, Katharine of Aragon. Arthur died shortly after his marriage, but Katharine was kept in England to be married to the King's second son, Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. But although the English nobles were longing to make themselves famous in France as they had done under Henry V, the King accepted large sums of money from France, and would never actually go to war.

With Flanders, Henry made, in 1496, a treaty called The Great Intercourse, by which our country obtained important trading advantages.

Until the Tudor period English trade was almost entirely confined to the Netherlands. Henry VII refused to aid Christopher Columbus, but gave his patronage to John Cabot and his three sons. The Cabots sailed on 5th March 1496, a day which some people think should be Empire Day, for the Cabots

Cabot sails for America, 1496

and their little crew of Bristol sailors planted the English flag in Newfoundland.

When the first Tudor king died, in 1509, he was known at home and abroad as the "second Solomon."

Great Seal of Henry VII

CHAPTER III

THE RENAISSANCE

THE great movement known as the Renaissance (that is, rebirth), which started in western Europe in the fourteenth century, was so called because it caused such a great change in intellectual and religious life. Instead of civilization continuing its gradual course from the Dark Ages through the Middle Ages to modern times, it suddenly began to progress by leaps and bounds.

We must not think that the people of the Middle Ages were stupid because most of the books they wrote were so very dull. We know by the poems of Dante, Chaucer and the troubadours, and from mediæval architecture, and romances, tournaments and orders of chivalry that they had wonderful imaginations. There were so very many difficulties in the way of learning in the Middle Ages that some of the cleverest people never even learned to spell; poor and middle-class people never thought of acquiring knowledge from books, unless they were going to be priests. Indeed at one time if a man who had committed a crime knew how to read, he was entitled to "benefit of clergy." In the middle of the reign of Edward VI,

there were still noblemen in England who could not write. Moreover, nearly all books were written in Latin, which only priests could understand. The Church service, the Bible and lectures at the universities were all in Latin. It was such a great thing to have been to school that mediæval scholars were called "schoolmen."

Two great schoolmen, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, had laid down rules of thought which everybody was supposed to follow, and these rules were known as the "scholastic system." Anybody who dared to differ from the schoolmen was in danger of being burned as a heretic. The only subjects which the schoolmen studied were theology and law. They took no interest in human nature, which they thought a very base thing only given us in order that we might mortify it.

The men of the Renaissance were bitterly opposed to these views. Not only did they think it wrong to stifle personality or crush character, but they believed that man was a very noble animal and should develop, not thwart, his human nature. For this reason they are known as humanists. They thought the people of the Middle Ages barbarians, and that is the reason why they called, and we still call, mediæval architecture "Gothic." A modern writer has proposed that we should call our present ugly imitations of mediæval architecture "Vandal." Not only architecture, but mediæval ideas of astronomy, geography, medicine, art, literature, politics and theology all seemed barbarous once the new movement began.

The chief cause of the Renaissance was the discovery of Latin and Greek art and literature. A few of the

manuscripts of the wise and witty authors of pagan Rome were still preserved in mediæval monasteries, and some of the cleverest men of the Middle Ages began to delight in reading them. The movement began in Italy, and so it is said that "the first modern man was an Italian."

The Italian poet Petrarch (1304-1374) was the first "modern man." As a boy he used to be always reading poetry, and when his father, who wished to make him a lawyer, took away all his other books and burned them he was moved by Petrarch's tears to let him keep Virgil. Petrarch felt towards Virgil as Tennyson did when he wrote:

> "I salute thee, Mantovano,
> I that loved thee since my day began;
> Wielder of the stateliest measure
> Ever woven by the lips of man."

Petrarch burst out into cries of rapture and passion on first seeing Rome, which he had learned from Virgil to love, and penned a letter of prayers and entreaties to the Pope begging him to restore the Eternal City to its ancient splendour.

Petrarch

Many Italians caught Petrarch's enthusiasm, and when, soon afterwards, they began to read Greek literature and understand Greek art they were carried away by their admiration for those great geniuses of antiquity whose work was beyond mediæval dreams. They used to burn lights before the bust of Plato in the same way that they did before that of the Virgin. The great scholar Erasmus, shivering in his cold,

poverty-stricken garret in Paris, told a visitor that with his first money he should buy Greek books and then he would buy some clothes.

It was very difficult to learn Greek, however, until 1453 (a very important date in the Renaissance), when the Greek city of Constantinople was captured by the Turks and large numbers of Greek scholars sought refuge in Italy. The great age of Italian art followed. Ghiberti, Alberti, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Raphael, Da Vinci, Titian, Michael Angelo and innumerable other artists filled Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with treasures of art that no one in the Middle Ages could have executed.

The movement reached Spain, and Cervantes wrote his famous book, *Don Quixote*, of which the chief point is mockery of the fantastic knight-errant of the Middle Ages. France, too, produced great architects, sculptors, painters, poets, essayists, scholars and printers, and a famous school of painting rose in Holland and Flanders.

Strangely enough, the Renaissance had very little influence on English art until the end of the sixteenth century, and it was not until "the spacious times of great Elizabeth" that it produced the famous literary men about whom we shall hear later. Nevertheless, at the close of the fifteenth century a band of Oxford scholars began to read Greek and form views much opposed to the scholastic system.

To religious people who did not care for art, poetry or humanism, the Renaissance was of great importance, as the Latin Bible (the Vulgate), which everybody used, was a very bad translation, and when they learned Greek they were able to read the pure Greek Testament

and the works of the early fathers of the Church, who wrote in Greek. This fresh study of the Scriptures was called the New Learning, which is not quite the same thing as the Renaissance. The popes, who favoured humanism because they did not see at first how great an enemy it would become of the Catholic Church, strongly disapproved of the New Learning, because when people read the Bible for themselves they generally became heretics. At the Reformation Catholics cried, "It was never merry in England since the New Learning came up!"

Shilling of Henry VIII

The chief members of the band of scholars who established the New Learning in England were Grocyn, Colet, Lily, Linacre, Sir Thomas More and the Dutch scholar, Erasmus, of Rotterdam, who was equally at home in every country of Europe. Erasmus spoke Latin as well as he did Dutch, and at that time every learned man could understand him.

Desiderius Erasmus

William Grocyn, who went to Florence in 1488 to study under Greek teachers, was the first English professor of Greek. On his return from Italy he started to give free Greek lectures at Oxford, and so attracted to England Erasmus, who wished to learn Greek but could not afford to go to Italy. Thomas Linacre studied at Florence with the children of Lorenzo de' Medici, one of whom afterwards became Pope Leo X. Linacre won European fame by trans-

lating the best medical works of antiquity from Greek into Latin. He was made Court doctor to Henry VIII, and founded the College of Physicians. John Colet returned from Italy to England in 1496 and began to lecture at Oxford on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, explaining it in a manner entirely opposed to that of the "schoolmen." Colet was not the most brilliant member of the band, but he was the most earnest, and all the others were accustomed to rely on his strong, upright character. His was the most powerful influence on Sir Thomas More's life, and he even interested Erasmus, who was inclined to be a pure humanist, in the New Learning. Colet left Oxford for London in 1505 to become Dean of St Paul's, and commenced to preach his new ideas to the citizens of London. He was a firm Catholic, but much of his teaching savoured of Lollard puritanism. He never wore the priest's purple vestment in the pulpit, but the plain black robe which served him all the year round, except that for warmth's sake it was lined with fur in winter. His primitive simplicity must have formed a striking contrast to the pomp and splendour of ecclesiastics of that time, most of whom kept up the state of great nobles. Colet gave no revels like the dean who had preceded him. At his frugal feasts the Scriptures were read and the conversation turned on sacred subjects, whilst in his travels his talk was always godly. Colet, who may have heard in Florence the preacher Savonarola thunder forth denunciations against the

Dean Colet

wickedness of Italy, began to preach in London against the wickedness of the Catholic Church.

Before the great fire London city was very different from what it is now. Where our noble Renaissance cathedral now towers over Ludgate Hill there stood in Colet's time a Gothic church famed throughout Christendom for the height of its spire, its painted glass, its dim, long nave and aisles, and the beauty of its proportions. Gathered together in this famous church on the sixth day of February 1512 were all the great ecclesiastical dignitaries of the see of Canterbury, who, as usual, were summoned to London to the convocation of the clergy at the same time as laymen were summoned to Parliament. Colet, perhaps with a trembling heart, but with firm lips, preached to these assembled churchmen on the necessity for a reform in the Church. He plainly charged them with their "breathless rise from benefice to benefice," with "wearing such lofty mien and high looks that their place does not seem to be in the humble priesthood of Christ," with their continual feasting, games and wicked lives. This sermon enraged many of the clergy, especially the Bishop of London, and people thought that Colet's end had come when he preached against the King's wars. The Oxford reformers were as bitterly opposed to war as the Lollards were.

The new King, Henry VIII, was a personal friend of these men of New Learning, but he was naturally annoyed by Colet's attack on himself and sent for the venturesome Dean. Colet, however, won Henry over. Henry VIII "loved a man," and, learning every day of his life, as all kings have to do, that he was adrift in a world of schemers, he recognized in Colet an honest

nature. "Let every one have his own doctor," he said to the Dean's enemies, "and let every one favour his own; this man is the doctor for me."

Colet found that grown-up people are very slow in receiving new ideas, and so determined to start a school for training children in the new way of "going." He established this school in 1511, in St Paul's Churchyard, close beside his cathedral church, and made his friend Lily the headmaster. Lily was probably the

Dr Colet and Henry

first person to teach Greek in London, and wrote a Latin grammar which has earned him the dislike of children from that day until our great-grandfather's time; but its method was better than the even more wearisome way in which Latin was taught to mediæval children. The school was founded for 153 children—

the same number as that of the miraculous draught of fishes—and over the master's chair Colet placed an image of the Child Jesus.

The method of teaching was a revolution in those times, when schoolmasters were nearly always of the kind whose motto is, "Spare the rod, spoil the child." Erasmus tells us that he once saw a child of ten flogged "as though he had committed sacrilege," and when the schoolmaster had finished his dismal task he turned to the humanist and remarked, "He did nothing to deserve it, but the boy's spirits must be subdued."

Colet, on the other hand, often expressed a sense of the innocence of childhood, and a chivalrous feeling for its helplessness.

To Sir Thomas More, the youngest but the most important of the band, we must give a separate chapter. He studied Greek at Oxford under Grocyn, and from Colet he learned to long for the moral reformation of the world. He lectured in the city of London in 1500, on St Augustine's book, *The City of God.*

Erasmus used to write brilliant though sometimes coarse letters and treatises in Latin, attacking stupidity and vice, especially that of the schoolmen. One of his books, *The Praise of Folly*, he wrote in More's garden. In it he pictures Folly in her cap and bells delivering an address to her disciples, most of whom were schoolmen. Another famous book by Erasmus is the *Letters of Obscure Men*, most of the "obscure men" being ignorant and wicked priests. The great work of Erasmus, however, was to correct the Latin Vulgate. This caused much alarm. "If any error," it was said, "should be admitted to have crept into the Holy Scriptures, what

authority would be left to them?" Erasmus, in his religious work, was inspired by Colet, but his desire for the reform of the State, which was just as necessary as the reform of the Church, he probably got from More.

These distinguished writers soon raised a storm in the learned world of England. The young students at Oxford and Cambridge even took sides and fought for and against the New Learning, calling themselves

Queen's College, Oxford, 1550

Greeks and Trojans. A Court preacher presumed to attack Greek literature in a sermon. Summoned before the angry King, he dropped on his knees and pleaded that he had been "carried away by the spirit." "Yes, by the spirit of folly," retorted the King.

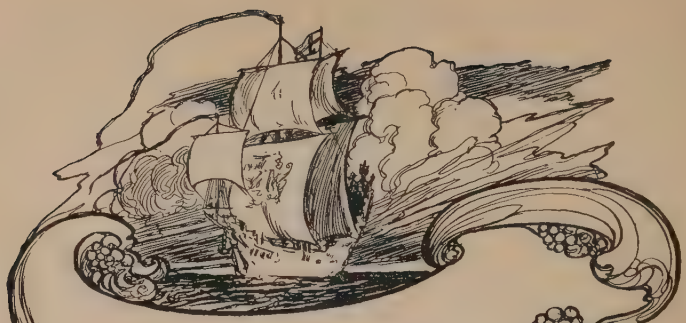
One important cause of the Renaissance, almost as important as the revival of learning, was the invention of printing in Germany about 1454. Paper, too, which had not long been discovered, became cheaper at this time.

Gunpowder was discovered in the fourteenth century,

but it was not until the sixteenth century that it revolutionized the art of war. Science made another important advance in the sixteenth century, when Copernicus proved that the sun did not go round the earth as it seems to do, but that the earth is a small satellite of the great light-giver.

Very important were the voyages made in the late fifteenth century and onward, not merely because of the discovery of unknown continents, but because of the wonderful effect which these discoveries had on men's imaginations.

Old St Paul's School before the Fire in 1666 (founded by Dr Colet)



CHAPTER IV
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

THE voyages of discovery made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sprang, like the revival of learning, from the renewed study of Greek literature.

The early Greeks thought that the earth was flat, and that if you sailed far enough you would tumble over the edge. But Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century B.C., learned from the Egyptians that the earth was spherical in shape. Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A.D., was the latest Greek geographer. He wrote books which were discovered and translated by the Arabs into their own tongue, but were not known to Christians until 1410, when they were translated into Latin. These writings were eagerly read throughout Europe; the mediæval nations were greatly interested in the fact that the earth was round, and Christopher Columbus was led to think of sailing over the western ocean to India. Crusaders even imagined that to travel over the Atlantic might be a short cut to

Jerusalem—perhaps only a few days' sail with a good wind. Nobody dreamed that the great continent of America and the boundless Pacific Ocean lay between western Europe and Asia.

Before the last twenty years of the fifteenth century, geographers only knew thoroughly the continent of Europe, a small part of Asia and portions of the northern and western coasts of Africa. There was a tradition that in the middle of the Atlantic, between Europe and eastern Asia, was to be found a large island. This they named "Atlantis," from the mythical island described by Plato. When navigators first began to turn westward they wasted much time in seeking for this island.

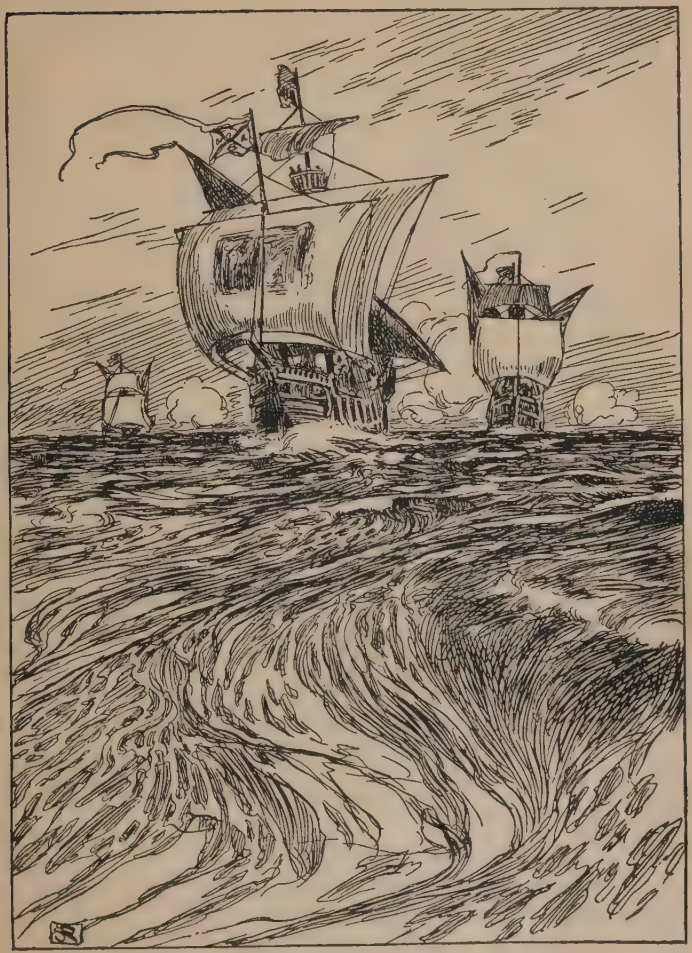
The Genoese, Portuguese and Spaniards bore off the honours in the great discoveries which now began to be made. Henry VII refused to aid Columbus, and never followed up the discoveries of the Cabots; and it is a matter of regret that the mariners of England had no share in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, or in the first circumnavigation of the globe.

From the thirteenth century the Genoese and Portuguese had been busy exploring and planting colonies on the west coast of Africa, and trading in the slaves, gold and ivory of the Guinea coast. Prince Henry, "the Navigator," of Portugal was very famous in the early fifteenth century. The Portuguese advanced ever farther south, and finally Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the southernmost point of Africa into the Indian Ocean, in 1486. Diaz called this point "Cape Tempestuous," but the King of Portugal changed its name to "Cape of Good Hope," because he foresaw the great benefits which would accrue to Portuguese

commerce from the new trade route. The southern extent of the great Dark Continent was now known. The news of the doubling of the Cape caused much excitement among the humanists, and some of the Florentine scholars wrote to express the gratitude and thanks of Europe to the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama continued the voyage and reached India in 1498. This was a matter of enormously greater distance and difficulty than crossing the Atlantic to America, and it opened up Eastern trade to the enterprising Portuguese nation. Da Gama returned to Portugal with a heavy cargo of silks, spices and gems, for which Europeans had hitherto always been forced to pay high prices to the Eastern merchants who brought them through Arabia and Egypt to the great mart of Alexandria.

The Portuguese took out large armies, made war on the Mussulman merchants, who tried to retain the monopoly of Indian trade, and established colonies in India. All Christendom rejoiced, for it was some centuries since such victories had been won over Mohammedans. The bold Portuguese even formed a wild plan of attacking the Mohammedan sacred city, taking possession of the coffin of Mohammed and only restoring it if the Turks would surrender the holy places at Jerusalem to the Christians.

Many were the voyages made westward during this time, but most failed because the leaders only thought of finding the mythical island of Atlantis. The Genoese captain, Christopher Columbus, was the first person to abandon this fruitless search and sail straight across the ocean. Columbus learned his seamanship from the Portuguese, and, having read the geographical



Ships of Columbus

works of Ptolemy, longed to be the first person to reach Asia from the west. Not being a rich man, he tried to get the King of Portugal to become his patron. When that monarch failed him he turned, first, to the enterprising city of Genoa, which also refused. Then, as a last hope, he tried Spain. Spain did a very wise and fortunate thing for herself in giving help to Columbus, who agreed to plant the Spanish flag on all the lands he should discover. Columbus sailed in 1492, and in five weeks' time arrived at islands which he named the West Indies, because he thought that they fringed the east coast of Asia. He came again on other occasions and landed in South America, which thus became Spanish territory, but he still thought this was Asia, and died without knowing that his name would become famous in history as the discoverer of a new continent.

Having been the means of the discovery of America, Spain continued to explore it, and soon doubts began to arise as to whether this country was really eastern Asia. It was agreed to call it the New World until more knowledge was acquired, and at last the problem was solved by Magellan. Following the coast southward, Magellan discovered the strait known afterwards by his name, and sailing through it amidst snow-clad mountains came into a sea "almost beyond the grasp of man for its vastness." Magellan sailed this ocean, which, on account of its gentle winds, he called the "Pacific," for ninety-eight days. His crew, ill with

Ferdinand Magellan

scurvy, were eating rats and sawdust, but Magellan insisted that they should sail on. He would not return, he said, if he should be forced to eat the leather of the rigging. Death, however, disappointed this brave mariner. He reached the Philippine Islands and there, just when the worst hardships of the voyage

An Old Map of the New World, 1523

were over, fell by the hand of a native. Only one of his five ships remained, and this ship, the *Vittoria*, continuing its course, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in Spain in 1522, after an absence of three years all but fourteen days. The thirty-one sailors

who alone survived of the five ships' crews had sailed round the world. They had also proved that America was not eastern Asia.

Americo Vespucci sailed to the new-found Western land after the first voyage of Columbus, and wrote an account of his travels, as Columbus had not done. This is why he was popularly thought to be the discoverer of America, and the new continent was ultimately called after him.

Spain discovered wonderful stores of gold and silver in South America, besides cattle, sugar, and, most important of all, slaves. She speedily became the richest country in Europe, and all other nations began to turn eyes of jealousy upon her. We shall see how England, in the reign of Elizabeth, broke her old friendship with Spain, and won great glory from defeating that mighty country.

Meanwhile the opening up of new worlds to the navigator meant the opening up of new worlds to the imaginations of men, excited by the discovery of the treasures of Greece and Rome. Keats felt that these things had the same effect when he first read Chapman's Homer. He tells us:

> "Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken;
> Or like stout Cortez[1] when with eagle eyes
> He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

[1] Cortez was a famous Spaniard who conquered Mexico in 1521-1522, and not, as Keats suggests, the first European to look upon the Pacific.

Travellers brought Home exciting Stories

All these discoveries made men believe that still further countries would come to light, and a hundred years later Bacon, who thought another continent would be found to the west of America, wrote a book called *The New Atlantis*. Moreover, travellers brought home exciting stories of the marvels they had seen and the strange things which had befallen them. The crew of Sir John Hawkins, in Elizabeth's reign, told people at home, besides many tales of cannibals, savages and strange beasts, a story of a marvellous tree which they had found in the West Indies. From this tree all the inhabitants of the "Vanishing Islands" drew their water. These sober Englishmen firmly believed that certain islands of the West Indies vanished or "flitted." When men approached them, they said, they disappeared. "The like hath been," one of them wrote, "of these now known (by the report of the inhabitants) which were not found but of long time, one after the other; and therefore it should seem he is not yet born to whom God hath appointed the finding of them."

Sir Thomas More's mind was stirred by the idea that there might be peoples in the world different from, and better than, those of Europe, and Elizabethan literature is full of the glamour of travel, and the equal fascination of eastward and westward ho! Shakespeare's Othello, when he is brought before the Seignory of Venice on a charge of having bewitched Desdemona, justifies himself thus:

> "I spake of most disastrous chances,
> Of moving accidents by flood and field,
> Of hair-breadth' scapes i' the imminent deadly breach,
> Of being taken by the insolent foe

And sold to slavery, of my redemption thence
And portance in my travel's history;
Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks and hills whose heads touch heaven,
It was my hint to speak,—such was the process;
And of the cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders. This to hear
Would Desdemona seriously incline."

The Ship *Henri Grace à Dieu* (from Holbein's picture of "The Embarkation of Henry VIII for the Field of the Cloth of Gold")

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY YEARS OF HENRY VIII

(1509-1518)

WHILE Henry VII was plotting and scheming, crushing the nobles and filling his treasury from the pockets of the commons, the royal nursery presented a picture much the same as you might see if you were to peep through the windows of a king's palace to-day. All the rivals of his children were crushed or exiled; for the heir to the throne there would be no battles to fight, and no relatives to murder, before he could take up the sceptre.

Henry VIII was brought up in an atmosphere of religion and learning. Henry VII was not very fond of his wife, Elizabeth of York: perhaps that was only natural, as the houses of York and Lancaster had been at war for so many years. But everybody said that Elizabeth was a very good woman; and Henry's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who ruled the household, was famous for her learning and piety. She founded colleges and schools, encouraged Caxton's printing press, and was said to be "a mirror and

example of honour" to all the noble men and women of England. Perhaps no woman has ever held a more important position in the learned world of England than Margaret, Countess of Richmond.

Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Henry VII's mother (from Contemporary Picture)

The first son of Henry and Elizabeth received the name Arthur, perhaps after the old British king from whom the Tudors claimed succession. On Arthur's death, in 1502, the second son, Henry, became heir to the throne, representative of both the red and white rose. We have a picture of Henry three years before this, when Erasmus and Thomas More, his future Lord Chancellor, paid him a visit at Greenwich, then a riverside village. In the palace, which stood at the foot of a rambling park where Wren's noble building,

The Old Palace at Greenwich

Greenwich Hospital, now adorns the banks of the Thames, Henry VIII and his two daughters were born,

and Edward VI died. This palace, which Henry VIII afterwards greatly improved, was his chief residence until Wolsey made him a present of Hampton Court, and it was the scene of many a gay revel of his reign. He and the other younger children of Henry VII were educated here. Here Skelton, who was poet laureate to Henry VII, came with other eminent men to give the royal children their lessons. Skelton wrote some very amusing verses, though some of them are very bad doggerel. He tells us in his characteristic, quaint style how he taught Henry VIII :

> "The honour of England I learned to spell,
> I gave him to drink of the sugared well
> Of Helicon's waters crystalline,
> Acquainting him with the muses nine."

Henry was nine years old when Erasmus, who was staying near Greenwich at the country house of his English friend, Lord Mountjoy, walked over to the palace accompanied by Thomas More. They were received with great honour by the King's children. Henry stood in the centre of the assembled household and impressed his visitors by the precocious "royalty in his demeanour, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy." On his right stood his elder sister, Margaret, soon to marry James IV of Scotland, on his left his little sister, Mary, the future queen of France, while the nurse held the infant, Edmund (who never grew up), in her arms. More presented Henry with some writing of his own composition; Erasmus, who had not thought of this attention, was somewhat annoyed, and spent the three following days in making Latin verses to be sent to the boy.

Erasmus and More visit the Royal Children at Greenwich

In 1509, seven years after his elder brother's death, Henry succeeded to the crown of England as Henry VIII. He was then eighteen years old, and, as everybody agreed, learned and well educated, speaking Latin and modern tongues, understanding Greek and theology, and having great skill in music. In addition to possessing these new-fashioned accomplishments, Henry was a skilful hunter and swordsman. He was fond of arranging tournaments, and would shiver his lance course after course in succession. He used to perform feats of horsemanship before the Queen, and a gay crowd of ladies assembled to see the jousting, tiring out one animal after another. He excelled at tennis, and the Venetian ambassador wrote home that it was "the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture." Another foreigner described him as "the handsomest potentate I ever set eyes on; above the usual height, with an extremely fine calf to his leg; his complexion fair and bright, with auburn hair combed straight and short in the French fashion, and a round face so very beautiful that it would become a pretty woman."

By thirty Henry's face had already become a little heavy, and ten years later he presented the painfully obese picture that we know so well. Among the common people he never lost his popularity, and was known to his death as "bluff King Hal." At the beginning of his reign he seems to have been merry, generous-spirited and simple. His father, in one of those death-bed speeches which worldly kings sometimes make, had bidden him lead a Crusade against the infidels, and, to the general merriment of Christendom, it was discovered that Henry had serious

intentions of doing so. The fit did not last, however. He married his brother's widow, Katharine of Aragon, immediately after his accession, and his father-in-law, Ferdinand, King of Aragon, who for a long time controlled his foreign policy, soon taught him that the age of the Crusades was over.

Ferdinand was crafty, and possessed a keen sense of humour. He was accused once of having twice cheated one of his friends, and replied with a smile: "He lies! I cheated him three times." He soon got Henry to lend him a small force to attack the infidel Moors of Spain, and then played on his piety in order to win his support against France.

Henry, it has been said, the youngest king in Christendom, entered the arena of Europe "a child of generous impulse, in a throng of hoary intriguers, each of whom was nearly three times his age." England, too, was simple in character like its King. Erasmus said it was "out of the world, or perhaps the least-corrupted portion of it." It was not long, however, before Henry learned his bitter lesson from these "hoary intriguers," and we shall see how much deeper and subtler English character became as the century wore on.

One of Henry's first acts was to cause the execution of Empson and Dudley, the two infamous extortioners who had been most hated in his father's time. Dudley's son and grandson, however, rose to great honours, as we shall hear later.

It was perhaps natural that this young King should seek abroad for fame for himself. To the deep disappointment of More, Colet and Erasmus, he soon gave evidence that he possessed what they con-

sidered the usual vulgar ambitions and passions of royalty.

English foreign policy during the reign of Henry VIII seems at first sight to have been always changing, like a vane, without any apparent reason. Sometimes the King made war with France, or gave money to some other power to do so, while at other times he arranged meetings with the French king, and swore eternal friendship with that country.

France, as you will remember, was at that time and for long before the "deadly enemy" of England; our kings had lost all but Calais, but still called themselves kings of France and longed to renew the glories of Crécy and Agincourt. The wisest statesmen recognized that France had now become a strong united country just as England had, and that it would no longer be possible for an English king to appear with his army in the French capital; but there were sometimes reasons which made it necessary to go to war with France. For instance, England and Scotland were always on bad terms, and France was very fond of stirring the Scots up to make war on us. The age-long friendship of Scotland and France did not end until Scotland became a Presbyterian country, and broke off all connexion with its old Roman Catholic ally. Also France was frequently at war with Spain, and this brought her into conflict with England. Nearly half the population of England depended on the trade with the Netherlands, and England, the hereditary foe of France, was the hereditary friend of the Low Countries. The Netherlands now belonged to Charles, grandson of Ferdinand of Aragon. On the death of Ferdinand, in 1516, Charles, a boy of sixteen,

became, as Charles V, ruler of Spain, the Spanish empire, Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish dominions in the New World—in addition to what he already possessed—and was to become Emperor of Germany in 1519. Thus the English wool trade largely depended on friendship with Spain and the Empire, and the common people became very angry when Henry's minister, Wolsey, joined the Holy League against Charles V in 1527.

Another consideration affected English foreign policy, and that was the "balance of power." It was to the interest of England not to let either France or Spain become too strong. The wisest people held that England should play France off against Spain, letting them fight for their dog's bone, Italy, until they were exhausted. Henry VIII did this in the end, but not until he himself had been badly bitten, spending on war, in three years, the whole of the money left him by his father, and wearying his subjects with heavy taxation.

We must now return to the moment of Henry's accession. The religious young monarch found, when he called his father's ministers to him, and asked them to explain the foreign situation, that the Christian city of Venice, which had for so long waged war against the Turk, was threatened by a coalition comprised of his father-in-law, Louis XII of France, the German Emperor, Maximilian, the Pope and several Italian princes. They had formed the League of Cambrai in 1508 to divide Venetian territory between them. This robbery Henry tried in vain to prevent, and when Ferdinand and the Pope, in fear of the growing power of France, withdrew from the alliance, Henry, in 1511, eagerly

joined the Holy League against the French. He was urged to this course by Thomas Wolsey, a priest risen from the people, who had just become his Privy Councillor.

Wolsey organized the English army which sailed to conquer Guienne in 1512, but Ferdinand had no idea of letting England make conquests in France. He simply used the English forces to keep France busy while he conquered Navarre for himself. Moreover, it was a long time since English soldiers had endured the fatigue of a campaign, and, kept in idleness by Ferdinand, they disgraced their country by their lack of hardihood and discipline. Finally Ferdinand made peace with France behind Henry's back. The result was anger in England against our old ally, Spain; and from Ferdinand's bad treatment Henry VIII received his first lesson in the ways of the world.

Henry determined, with the help of the Emperor Maximilian, to redeem the prestige of England by an attack on France led by himself in person, believing firmly that, like Cæsar, he had only to appear in order to conquer. Already he had seen the necessity for a strong navy, and now, gathering "such a fleet as Neptune never saw before," he sailed from Dover into Calais harbour, where he was welcomed by the firing of guns from ships and city towers. The Emperor Maximilian became a private soldier in his army.

His pride was justified, for the French forces scattered at the sight of the English and German soldiers, and Henry won, in 1513, the battle of the Spurs, in which the only weapons used by the French were spurs to make their horses fly away faster. Among the many noble Frenchmen taken captive was the

Flodden Field

"last knight of the Middle Ages," the famous Bayard, *le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.* Henry proceeded to capture the rich cities of Thérouanne and Tournay, and then, very well satisfied, returned to England. At Tournay he had received news of the defeat of the Scots at the battle of Flodden.

Directly Henry's back was turned, his brother-in-law, James IV, had led a large Scottish army over the borders, only to be slain at Flodden Edge in

Battle of the Spurs

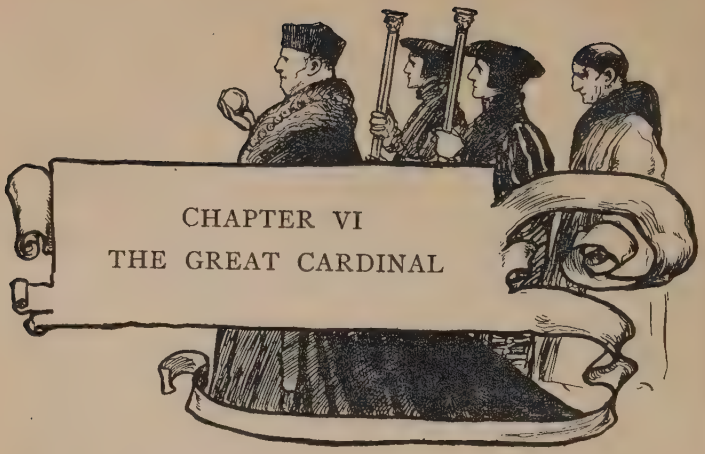
Northumberland, with the flower of his nobility. Far different from the bloodless battle of the Spurs, 1000 Englishmen and 10,000 Scots, among them members of every noble family in the kingdom, fell upon this fatal field.

Henry's spirits were, however, soon damped by the intrigues of Ferdinand. He remarked that he found no faith in the world except in himself, and made an alliance with France. He was very angry with his wife because she took her father's part, and already

threatened to divorce her. Wolsey, who was to be Katharine of Aragon's great enemy, had already more power than herself. He was made Archbishop of York in 1514, and received in 1515 the office of Lord Chancellor, besides being made a cardinal (next to the highest dignity in the Catholic Church) by the Pope.

A new king, Francis I, succeeded to the throne of France. He was young, handsome, very clever and ambitious, and used to say that "the monarchy of Christendom should rest under the banner of France as it was wont to do." He stirred up the Scots against Henry, and Henry, who was bitterly jealous of him, spent large sums of money in subsidizing other powers to attack France. Wolsey, however, finally persuaded Henry to close his purse and leave France alone, and brought about a universal peace by the Treaty of London, in 1518. Wolsey, who was now an international figure, was called the "arbiter of Europe"; he had just been appointed papal legate, and he gave a great supper to the ambassadors who had come to sign the treaty, and to the gay young King.

One of Henry VIII's Fortresses at Sandown



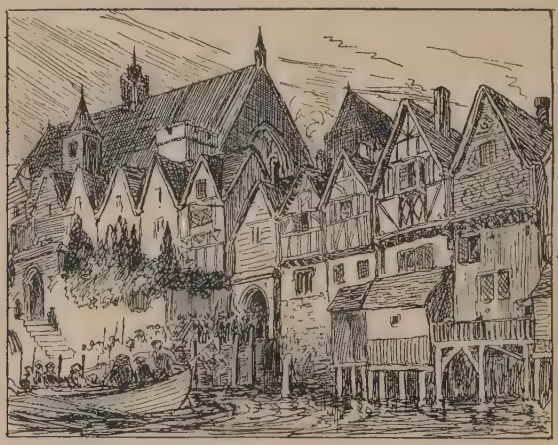
CHAPTER VI
THE GREAT CARDINAL

WOLSEY'S gentleman - usher, George Cavendish, wrote a very interesting Life of Wolsey. He tells us of Wolsey's magnificent London house, how noblemen and knights waited on him, and how he rewarded anyone who would recommend a tall and comely yeoman to his service. He had three chief officers, the steward, treasurer and comptroller, who moved about his household bearing white staves. Other general officers were the cofferer, marshals, yeomen-ushers, grooms and almoner. In the "hall kitchen" there were clerks of the kitchen and spicery, a surveyor of the dresser, two master cooks, twelve under cooks and the "children of the kitchen," besides yeomen of the scullery, silver scullery and pastry. In his privy kitchen he had a master cook always dressed in damask, satin or velvet, with a gold chain round his neck, and various under servants. There were the

due officials in the larder, scalding-house, buttery pantry, ewery, cellar, chandlery, wafery, wardrobe, laundry, bakehouse, wood-yard, garner, garden, gate-house, stables and almserie, and a yeoman of his barge. His chapel was sumptuously furnished and served by numerous priests. He had for his personal attendants two cross-bearers, two pillar-bearers, a high chamberlain, arch-chamberlain, and a few hundred gentleman-ushers and waiters, cupbearers, carvers, sewers, footmen, and physicians, minstrels, armourers, a herald-at-arms and sergeant-at-arms, besides all the clerks of the court of Chancery. Moreover, the nobles who formed his court were allowed to bring each one or two servants. His gentlemen wore a livery of crimson velvet with chains of gold round their necks, his yeomen coats of scarlet edged with black velvet, and they must have formed a splendid picture when the Cardinal rode abroad in state.

This was the order of Wolsey's day: after mass he would retire to his privy chamber, and when he heard that a number of persons were waiting in the hall of audience would issue forth in his red cardinal's robe, a round pillion on his head, a tippet of fine sables round his neck and in his hand an orange, emptied and stuffed with vinegar and disinfectants, at which he used to sniff when the throng of suitors pressed round him. First was borne before him by a bareheaded nobleman the Great Seal of England, and behind that his cardinal's hat, while his gentleman-ushers cried, "Make way for my lord's grace!" After receiving the greetings of his courtiers, the Cardinal left his audience-chamber for Westminster Hall. Before him were carried the two great crosses of silver which belonged to him as

archbishop and legate, two great pillars of silver and a great mace of silver gilt. At his hall door his mule, trapped in crimson velvet, gold and silver, awaited him, and, guarded by four footmen with gilt poleaxes in their hands, he started on his journey. He spent the



The old Landing-Stage at Westminster Hall

morning in the Chancery hearing suitors, or in the Star Chamber determining complaints.

On Sundays he used to take all his paraphernalia of crosses, pillars, hat and Great Seal by water down the Thames, land, ride his mule along Thames Street to Billingsgate and, again taking to his barge, row out to the Court at Greenwich, where the King found it necessary to have everything extra fine to receive him. An enemy wrote :

" Whose mule if it should be sold
So gaily trapped with velvet and gold,

And given to us for our share,
I durst ensure the one thing:
As for a competent living
This seven year we should not care."

Wolsey answered Puritan complaints against all this show by saying that his pillars and poleaxes, if coined, might maintain five or six beggars, but as it was they

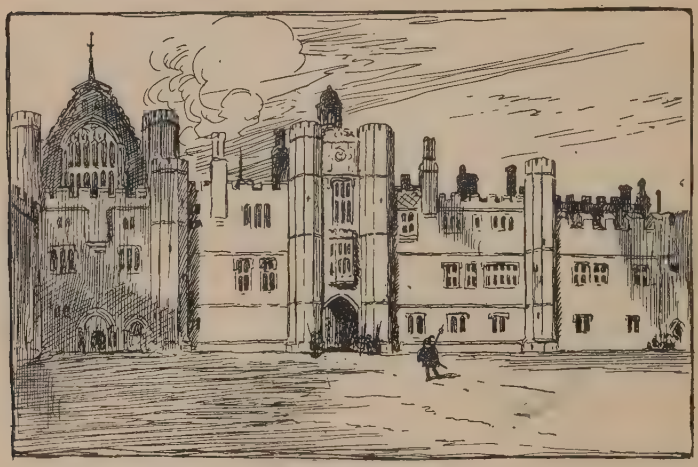
Wolsey and his Suite

maintained the commonwealth. He was perhaps right, for foreigners thought when they saw the Cardinal that England must be a very rich country, and respected her much more than they had done in the niggardly days of Henry VII.

Sometimes the King visited Wolsey, and at such times Wolsey prepared a gorgeous and costly banquet, with all sorts of wines and viands, music and dancing. The King and a few nobles sometimes entered masked like shepherds and danced and played with the

Cardinal's guests, not revealing which of them was the King until the feast was finished, although it was generally easy to tell Henry, as he was unusually tall. Shakespeare, in *Henry VIII*, has drawn us a picture almost exact in its details of one of these feasts.

Cavendish describes a banquet given by Wolsey to the French ambassadors at Hampton Court, in 1527,



Hampton Court

just before his fall. Caterers were employed, cooks worked day and night inventing and confecting delicacies. St Paul's Church was set upon the table as cleverly imitated as if it had been painted; there were edible ladies and gentlemen, dancing, fighting or tilting, and a spiced chessboard, with men. The waiting-chambers were hung with costly hangings and provided with tables set for the banquet. On the walls great plates of silver and gilt were placed, so as

to reflect the candlelight and the great fire in the chimney. In the presence-chamber the high table was placed in the middle of the room, under the cloth of estate, and was covered with fine and perfumed damask linen. A cupboard against the wall extended the whole breadth of the room and made a gorgeous object, being full of beautifully worked gilt plate and lighted up by two exquisitely wrought candlesticks containing candles as large as torches. Each bedroom had a silken bed, a toilet set of silver or gilt, one pot at least of wine and beer, a goblet and silver pot to drink the beer out of, a loaf of finest and one of coarser bread, a silver candlestick or two with both white and yellow lights of three sizes of wax, and a staff torch.

Wolsey's Half-Groat

The King heard of this last banquet with some jealousy, and gave the ambassadors an even grander one at Greenwich. Barriers were set up in the palace, and there was tilting on horseback in the chamber, and all the guests received gifts of great value.

You will remember, in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, the sad ending of the great and gifted Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whom his best friends had often warned against the indiscretion of talking against Wolsey. Descended from Edward III, and connected with the oldest families in the kingdom, Buckingham represented the ancient nobility which it was part of Tudor policy to crush. He hated the upstart Wolsey, and inflicted many a slight on him ; but fortune was not with the old historic houses. He ran sufficient danger in being of royal blood, and was foolish enough to listen to a prophecy that he should be King on Henry's

death. This was enough. Wolsey informed his sovereign, and, twenty-two years after the Earl of Warwick's execution, the head of the Duke of Buckingham fell on the same spot, in 1521. "Alas the while!" wrote Hall the chronicler, "that ever ambition should be the loss of so noble a man."

Wolsey at this time was at the height of his power. The King, it was said, hardly knew what was going on in the realm. Nobles and bishops robed the lord Cardinal and waited at his table, while his magnificence put the royal household to shame. He was an indefatigable worker, doing more business by himself than all the officials of most kingdoms put together, and was very just, except toward those who stood in his path. Yet he was hated by all classes of the nation as an "upstart," and the "butcher's cur," a reference to his lowly parentage.

Duke of Buckingham

CHAP. VII—KING, QUEEN AND CARDINAL (1519-1529)

WOLSEY'S policy of friendship with France seemed even more justifiable in 1519, when the Emperor Maximilian died, and Charles V succeeded to the Austrian possessions of the Hapsburgs. This young Prince, now elected Emperor, was lord of such a large portion of the earth that he seemed to threaten the independence of Europe. England, France and the other powers feared that, like the old Roman emperors, he might try to conquer the whole known world.

Wolsey thereupon arranged a friendly meeting between his sovereign and Francis I, to take place in a field between Guisnes and Ardres. This was carried out in 1520, and the spot where the two kings had their splendid meeting has always been known in English history as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a wrong translation of the French "*Camp du drap d'or*" ("Field of the Golden Flag").

Wolsey, his mule, cross-bearers, pillar-bearers, and two hundred gentlemen in crimson velvet, crossed over

to France in the King's train, forming the most splendid part of what was one of the most gorgeous spectacles ever seen. At Guisnes, for the King's reception, was erected a palace of wonderful architecture and sculpture, adorned by silks, precious metals and stones. At the meeting-place were royal tents made of cloth of gold, hung with Arras hangings, and spread with Turkey carpets. The costumes of the kings and nobles, and the harness of the horses, "beggared description." The time passed in masks and revels, tournaments and feasting, and the two kings swore a firm alliance.

Francis I

This meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold was another serious misfortune to the old nobility. They crippled their estates in keeping the pace set by Wolsey.

Henry VIII and Francis were very foolish not to be true to their friendship, but they soon broke it; they were, indeed, already plotting against each other while they kissed on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. It was thought that Charles V promised to make Wolsey Pope if he would persuade Henry to desert France, but, if so, Charles afterwards made no scruple as to breaking his promise. It is curious to think how different the history of England might have been if Wolsey had succeeded in his ambition. There would have been no need for Henry VIII to abolish the papal power in order to obtain his divorce from

Katharine of Aragon. But Wolsey was not destined to reach the dizzy height of the Papacy.

It is not quite certain what was the cause of the quarrel, but Francis opposed Henry's schemes in Scotland, and Henry sent armies to invade France in 1522 and 1523. Francis I must have bitterly regretted his loss of England's friendship, when he was taken prisoner by Charles V at the battle of Pavia, in 1525; and Henry suffered great humiliation abroad.

Henry expected that his ally, Charles V, would conquer France and give him half of the country, but Charles realized that he himself had far too many countries to govern already, and he had no mind to increase the possessions of England. So Henry found that he had done no good, and spent so much money that he was bankrupt. The country nearly rose in revolt at his attempt to impose a forced loan, and the citizens of London boldly informed him that benevolences were illegal. In Suffolk, where there was an actual rising, a poor weaver told the Duke of Norfolk that their captain's name was Poverty, "for he and his cousin Necessity have brought us to this doing." Parliament, in 1525, refused to sanction an "amicable loan," and the King was forced to give way.

Emperor Charles V

There was shortly afterwards, in the situation of

affairs abroad, a change, which had a most important effect on English history. Francis I persuaded Pope Clement VII to make a Holy League, in 1527, against Charles V. In revenge, the armies of Charles V sacked Rome in the most barbarous fashion and seized the Pope. Thus, just when Henry wanted Clement to grant him a divorce from Katharine of Aragon, the Pope was a prisoner of Katharine's nephew and dared not offend him by doing so.

No one will ever know if the King was really pricked in his conscience, or only pretended to be so, by having married his brother's widow. It is certain that he had come to dislike the Spanish kinsfolk of Katharine of Aragon, and had tired of the Queen, who was a good deal older than himself. Moreover, he had fallen in love with a brunette of the Court, Anne Boleyn.

Anne Boleyn was not thought a good-looking woman, but had beautiful black eyes, and was so witty and fascinating that not only the King, but Sir Thomas Wyatt and the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland were very deeply in love with her. Wolsey, who had sent the Duke of Northumberland's son away from Court, and thus already earned Anne's enmity, now turned her into his very bitter foe by opposing her marriage with the King. The first thing that Anne did when she came into power was to secure the fall of the great Cardinal.

After long delays, during which Henry was becoming more and more impatient to marry Anne, the Pope granted power to Wolsey and the Italian Cardinal, Campeggio, to try the King's cause, although Campeggio had secret instructions merely to win time by delay. The two cardinals convoked, in the Pope's name,

She appealed from the Jurisdiction of this Court

a court in the great hall of the Blackfriars in London, and summoned Henry and Katharine to appear. For the last time in England the State bowed before the Papacy.

The crier called, "King Henry of England, come into the Court," and the King answered, "Here, my lords." Then the Queen was summoned, but instead of replying she rose, and before the whole assembly threw herself at the King's feet and besought his pity on "a woman and a stranger born out of your dominion." After an eloquent speech she appealed from the jurisdiction of this Court, which she said was under the King's influence. Everybody indeed thought that judgment would be given for the King, and it was an unlooked-for blow to Henry and Anne Boleyn when, at the Pope's bidding, Campeggio adjourned the case. The King's personal friend, the Duke of Suffolk, who married his sister Mary when Louis XII died, struck the table with his fist and swore:

"By the Mass, now I see that the old saw is true, that there was never a legate or cardinal that did good in England."

The Pope called the case to Rome, and the wrath of the King and Anne Boleyn fell upon Cardinal Wolsey. He was accused of having broken the Statute of Præmunire, by exercising his legatine authority, although he had done so with the King's good-will. The chancellorship, his great house of York Place, and all his treasures were taken from him, and he was told to retire to Esher, where he lived for some time with barely the necessities of life. Early in 1530 he withdrew to his archbishopric of York, still hoping that the King, who for twenty years had been

dependent on his counsel, would ultimately recall him to favour.

On his slow procession northward Wolsey stopped at Peterborough and, on Maundy Thursday, washed, wiped, and kissed the feet of fifty-nine poor men, he himself being then fifty-nine years of age. He stayed in Yorkshire until the autumn, and won the affection of Yorkshiremen, although in these remote parts of England his name had hitherto stood for everything that was evil. Now his life was one long scene of piety, charity and hospitality. As he had never before had the grace to visit his diocese, it was planned that he should be installed as archbishop, according to the old custom of the Church of York, on the Monday after All Hallows' Day; but this last pageant was never to crown Wolsey's pompous life. On All Hallows' Day itself he was arrested by commissioners from the King. His enemies, fearful of the King's relenting, had misrepresented his activity in the north. Anne Boleyn's old sweetheart, now Earl of Northumberland, was chief of the officers sent to bring the Archbishop to London.

Wolsey affected to receive the young Earl as a friendly visitor, and it was a long time before Northumberland could conquer his old awe of Wolsey, and bring out his message; but at last he summoned up his courage, and, laying his hand on the Cardinal's arm, said in trembling tones:

"My lord, I arrest you of high treason."

At last Wolsey, who had hoped against hope, and was conscious of having committed no offence against his royal master, realized that the King meant to destroy him. He wept often and bitterly while preparations were being made for his shameful return

to the scenes of his splendid life. Riding on his mule southward through Yorkshire amid his keepers, his diocesans crowded to bless him and curse his enemies. To all of them Wolsey protested that he had been faithful to the King.

Wolsey at Leicester Abbey

At Sheffield a new blow fell. The Constable of the Tower and twenty-four Yeoman of the Guard met the little cortège and took over the prisoner. Experience had taught Wolsey what this meant. He fell sick that night, travelled with difficulty for two days, and on the third evening, when they arrived at Leicester Abbey, where this great churchman was received with every honour, he said to the abbot:

"Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you."

His mule bore him to the foot of the stairs, and he was carried to his bed.

Three days later he died, on 30th November 1530. Shakespeare thus expresses the judgment of the age on the Cardinal, now that death had wiped out all grudges:

"This cardinal,
Though from a humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashioned to much honour from his cradle.
He was a scholar and a ripe and good one;
. . . . . .

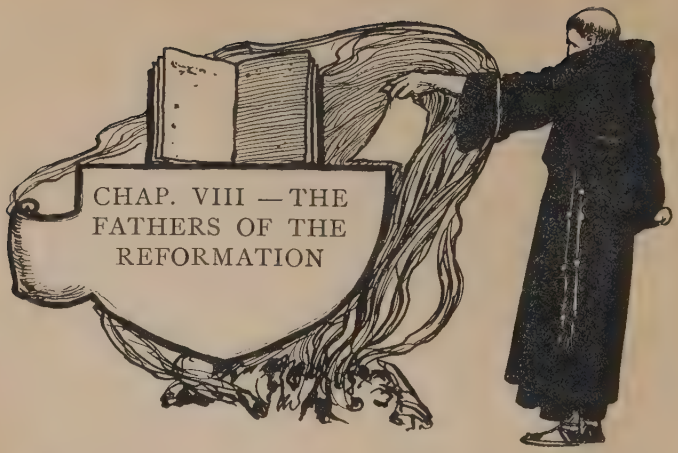
His overthrow heaped happiness upon him ;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little :
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God."

He was persecuted by the King's messengers even on his deathbed, and, just before he died, said to the Constable of the Tower :

"If I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs." And of the King he said bitterly : "He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart ; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one-half of his realm in danger."

Certain it is that Henry, now in his fortieth year, seemed very much changed in character from the quixotic young monarch who had mounted the throne twenty-one years before, and heaped on Wolsey every honour which a prince could give a subject. His nature was still in some ways noble, as you shall see, but he had become a sensual, cynical, awe-striking tyrant.

Anne Boleyn



CHAP. VIII — THE FATHERS OF THE REFORMATION

THE Reformation was born in Germany, although many people said that Erasmus, of Rotterdam, had laid the egg which Luther hatched, and but for Luther it is doubtful whether the German people would have had this honour. Melanchthon, Luther's friend and helper, once remarked in a fit of pessimism that his fellow-countrymen took no more interest in the Reformation than a cow when a new door was being put up in its shed.

Martin Luther, the child of Thuringian peasants, by whom he had been very carefully brought up, became, against their will, a monk. Deeply religious, the young Luther fasted and scourged himself in the traditional way of the Roman Catholic Church, but could never get rid of his feeling of sinfulness. At last, in the loneliness of his cloister, he came to the momentous decision that scourging, fasting and other "good works," as penances were called, were of no value in the sight of God. With no idea as yet of seceding from the

Church of Rome, Luther had nevertheless evolved his great doctrine of "justification by faith."

Luther became, also, like many good Catholics of his time, fiercely indignant at the evil lives of churchmen and the popes. Pope Alexander VI, who died in 1503, was a murderer and fratricide, and is said to have perished by drinking a cup of poison which he had prepared for another. His successor, the warlike Julius II, cared only for increasing the papal estates. Leo X, who succeeded Julius, was a patron of the arts, but lacked any trace of seriousness of character. Kings and statesmen were as bad as popes and ecclesiastics. There was so much wickedness in the world that people ascribed to God's anger the war, plague, famine and misrule that were rife in every country of Europe. In the East the fierce, heathen Turk threatened Christendom with destruction; and the poor in their misery, and the great in their fear, were all prepared for a religious and moral insurrection.

Tetzel

Luther was teaching in the University of Wittenberg, in 1517, when Pope Leo X sent the Dominican friar, Tetzel, to Germany to grant indulgences for sins committed to all those who would contribute to the building of St Peter's Church at Rome. This great church was to be built by Italy's chief architects, and was intended to be the glory of the Italian Renaissance. The object of the sale of indulgences was, therefore, a worthy one from the humanistic point of view, but it

was granting salvation for a "good work." Leo X had unwittingly set the match to a train of gunpowder in the one and indivisible Holy Roman Church. Luther nailed his famous ninety-five theses to the door of Wittenberg Church in 1517, attacking the principle of indulgences and daring anybody to controvert him. The Dominican friar merely replied by citing the authority of the Pope, and thus the issue of Luther's attack was widened. It was some time before the Pope realized what an important event had happened, and three years went by before Luther was excommunicated. Luther meanwhile had been progressing in his heresies, and finally declared the Pope to be Antichrist. To the mingled horror and admiration of Christendom, he publicly burned the papal bull of excommunication at Wittenberg in 1520. Thus the Reformation started in Germany.

Luther himself was surprised at the number of people who came over to his side, but, as yet unsuspected by himself or others, this popular Wittenberg professor had the qualities of a leader of men. With his stiff mediæval spirit, Luther was not worthy from the humanist point of view to unloose the shoe-latchets of reformers like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, who were very angry at his attack on the Papacy, but with his simple, earnest nature he touched a far wider circle of men than the humanists did.

He was protected from the Pope and the Emperor by the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and he possessed the sympathy of a large number of people who did not want to abolish the Papacy, but saw the necessity for reform in the Church. At the Imperial Diet of Worms, however, in 1521, the Pope's sentence

Luther at Wittenberg

against him was confirmed. The Diet of Worms is a famous scene in the history of the Reformation. Luther was begged by his friends not to run the risk of appearing, but replied in his firm way that if there were as many devils in Worms as there were tiles on the roofs still he would go. In the Diet, confronted by the young Emperor, the magnates of the Church and the princes of Spain and

Luther burning the Papal Bull

Germany, Luther declared that he could not retract what he had written. He made a wonderful speech, and, at last, as the night drew on in the crowded chamber, and the torches burned low in their sockets, he uttered the memorable words:

"Here I stand, I can do nothing else, God help me. Amen."

His life was in danger from the Spaniards, but the Germans formed a bodyguard round him and he escaped. In addition to his excommunication, he was placed under the ban of the empire and was forced for a long time to live in concealment at the Elector of Saxony's castle of the Wartburg.

A strong Lutheran party was formed under Melanchthon. Lutheran churches were established, and thus an end was put for ever to the religious unity of Christendom. Never again were the nations of Europe to be joined in one faith under one empire. The Diet of Spires, in 1526, condemned the actions of the Lutherans, who protested against its edict, thus earning for themselves the title of "Protestants."

Melanchthon
(from Dürer's engraving)

Another great idea of Luther's beside "justification by faith" was that nobody, priest or saint, should intervene between man and God. Consequently he ordered the abandonment of the Latin services, which few laymen could understand, and gave great importance to preaching to the people. It also led him to insist that not only priests but laymen should partake of the wine of the Sacrament.

Once the anti-Roman movement had started it progressed so rapidly that Luther's opinions soon seemed too moderate. For instance, the Lutherans retained many ecclesiastical ceremonies which later reformers thought "popish," and they insisted on the obedience due to princes, whereas the later churches were very democratic. So it came to pass that new

churches sprang up which went much further than the Lutherans did. They were known as the "Reformed Churches," and had much more influence on the English Reformation than had the Lutherans.

The Swiss humanist, Zwingli, a disciple of Erasmus, established a Reformed Church in Switzerland. Zwingli taught that the bread and wine of the Sacrament were not the real body and blood of Christ—that is, he denied the "Real Presence" in the Lord's Supper. His hatred of the "popish" mass was one of the chief characteristics of English Protestants. Zwingli also believed that each congregation might settle its own faith. This teaching, so characteristic of democratic Switzerland, the mountain home of liberty, was the foundation of Scottish Presbyterianism, and of modern democracy. Zwingli was slain in battle, fighting for political and religious freedom, in 1531. His enemies subjected his lifeless corpse to every indignity, but a worn stone placed on the spot where Zwingli fell tells that, "They may kill the body but cannot touch the soul."

His mantle fell on the shoulders of the famous Frenchman, John Calvin, who in 1534 fled from persecution in his native country, and finally made the Swiss city of Geneva the centre of the new creed of "Calvinism," and a place of refuge for all persecuted Protestants. Calvin was an even more distinguished humanist than Erasmus, and commenced his public life by agitating, as Erasmus had done, for reforms of the Church and State. But he did not, like Erasmus, meet with Court favour. The "powers that be" had become frightened of reformers.

The teaching of Calvin was that man's soul could

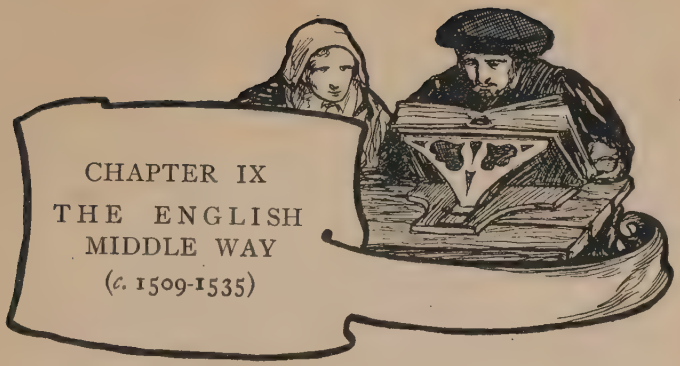
not be saved by any merit of his own, but only by the grace of God. Thus those who were persuaded that their souls were saved called themselves "the elect." Only they could receive the sacraments or have any hope of heaven. Calvin believed as firmly as any mediæval pope could have done that the Church was above the State. Calvin and the Calvinists everywhere sought to reform the State by means of the Church, whereas the Lutherans believed in reforming the Church by means of the State. Calvin was so severe not only against vice, but against dancing, card-playing and even harmless frivolity, that he was once banished from Geneva. His was a stern creed held by a stern man. Silence would fall on a group of laughing gossips as the spare form of Calvin, with his pale, keen face and dark, piercing eyes, threw its shadow across the narrow, Genevan street. He ruled Geneva as both King and Pope, and once, during his reign as "preacher" there, a Genevan child was slain for having struck its parents.

He sent his disciples as missionaries into France, where a large religious party called the "Huguenots" grew up. Besides Calvin's religious influence on his native country, he is considered, on account of his clear, light and graceful writings, the father of French prose. Calvin sent a present of religious books to Edward VI, and his own work, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, became the favourite reading of Elizabethan divines.

Psalm and hymn singing were a great feature of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist might easily be known by their scriptural way of talking, and the pious chanting that might be heard by the passer-by as he walked under their windows. Their psalm-singing was the

occasion of much mockery by the profane. Sir Walter Scott has drawn a delightful caricature of the extreme type in his *Old Mortality*, and they met with severe treatment from the poet Burns in his verses, *Holy Willie's Prayer.*

Luther



CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE WAY

(*c.* 1509-1535)

THE history of the Reformation in England was very different from that of Germany and Switzerland. Instead of being carried out by the people in defiance of the authorities, it was forced on the nation by the State. There was, however, a small minority who not only welcomed the Reformation, but would have been glad to see much more reform than the King would assent to.

Many Lollards were burned in England during the early years of Henry VIII, but the reading of the Scriptures still went on secretly among scholars and, finally, William Tyndale determined to translate the New Testament into English. He boldly announced his intention and informed a priest that—"Ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost."

Tyndale could not get his New Testament printed in England, and went to Germany. There he finally managed to print it in great secrecy, and some copies were smuggled into England; but strict orders were given at all the English ports not to let this dangerous

volume enter. People found reading it were punished and all copies were burned.

Parliament, too, attacked benefit of clergy and showed itself very hostile to the Church. Wolsey's loyalty to the Papacy kept the nation in check, but in 1527 the citizens of London said, when they heard of the sack of Rome, that "the Pope was a ruffian unworthy of his place, that he began the mischief and that he was well served." It was, however, the King and the King alone who brought about the separation of England from Rome.

Tyndale

The year 1527 was a black one in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. Not only was the Pope taken prisoner by the armies of the Emperor, not only was nearly every country of Europe agitating for reform of the Papacy and Church, but in this year Henry VIII commenced the divorce proceedings which led to England's rejection of the papal power. He had hitherto been very loyal, and had, in 1521, written a book against Luther, for which he had received from Pope Leo X the title of *Defender of the Faith.* But now that the Papacy was in the power of the Emperor many people expected that neither England nor France would recognize the Pope's authority, and it is certain that the dependence of Clement VII on the Emperor was a most important cause of the English Reformation.

The separation of England from the Papacy was urged on the King by the two men who took Wolsey's place in the King's counsels in 1529. One was Thomas

Reading the Bible in secret

Cromwell, an old servant of Wolsey's, the other Thomas Cranmer, the only minister to whom the King ever remained faithful.

Thomas Cranmer was a professor at Cambridge and member of a little band who met at the White Horse, there to read the Bible and discuss Lutheranism.

Great Seal of Henry VIII

Latimer, Bilney, Barnes and Lambert, all afterwards burned as heretics, were among the number.

Cranmer was deeply in sympathy with the German reformers, and when he came into power had a very important influence on the English Reformation. Cranmer suggested to the King that he should consult English and foreign universities about his divorce and, if these learned bodies approved, bid the Pope defiance. The King at once took a great fancy to Cranmer and followed his advice, with the result that in 1530 Oxford, Cambridge and many of the universities of France and Italy pronounced Henry's marriage with Katharine invalid.

The Reformation Parliament (1529-1536) commenced its sittings in 1529, and at the end of 1530 Henry sued the whole body of the clergy for having broken the

statutes of Provisors and Præmunire in recognizing Wolsey as papal legate. As he himself and everybody in the kingdom had also broken these statutes, the clergy at first imagined that this was merely a Tudor device to make money. They were not deceived in expecting to be offered pardon on payment of a heavy fine, but shortly afterwards discovered that Henry's action was also the first step in a great attack on the papal power.

Archbishop William Warham

Before the King would forgive them or receive their fine, they were told, they must acknowledge that he, and not the Pope, was "supreme head" of the English Church. It is almost certain that, if they had clung firmly to Rome, Henry VIII could never have carried out the Reformation. As most of the clergy believed that the Pope was head of the Church, such an acknowledgment would be very disgraceful; and there was much protest even after the Archbishop had authorized them to add the vain clause "as far as the law of Christ allows." But the members of Convocation reflected that death was the probable alternative to disgrace, and at last a long silence fell upon them. While the worthier members were still wrestling with their consciences, Archbishop Warham's voice was heard.

"Whoever is silent," he cried, "seems to consent."

A cowardly voice rose from the assembly:

"Then are we all silent."

Henry was disappointed that this measure had no effect on the Pope and, in 1532, as a sign of warning

to Clement, passed the first Act of Annates, which was to come into force at Henry's pleasure. By this Act the first-fruits of English benefices would be taken away from Rome. Henry also encouraged the ill-will of the commonalty towards the Church, forbade Convocation to make any decrees without his permission, announced that the canon law must be revised and receive his sanction, and forbade bishops to take an oath to the Pope at their consecration. It was after this that Sir Thomas More resigned his post as Lord Chancellor. Still the clergy submitted, but the Pope made no sign, and in January 1533 the King secretly married Anne Boleyn.

When Archbishop Warham died, early in 1533, Clement VII, very anxious to do what he could to appease Henry, agreed to the appointment of Cranmer as Archbishop, although Cranmer was well known to be heretical and was, moreover, married. Henry allowed the Pope to take his usual part in Cranmer's appointment, as he liked to do everything as legally as possible, and he saw that it would be easier to carry out the Reformation by means of an archbishop instituted in the old canonical way.

Immediately Cranmer became archbishop he joined with the King in abolishing the papal power. In 1533 the Act of Appeals was passed, which forbade appeals to Rome and reiterated that the King was supreme head of the Church. The clergy were forced to declare Henry's marriage with Katharine of Aragon unlawful, and Cranmer summoned the dispossessed Queen to a court at Ampthill like the legatine court to which King and Queen had been summoned by Wolsey and Campeggio. This time Katharine refused to appear;

but Cranmer, as Primate of England, did for the King the office which the Pope had so long refused to do for him: he pronounced the marriage with Katharine null and void from the beginning. Next month the new archbishop crowned Anne Boleyn in Westminster Abbey; in the following autumn her little daughter the future famous Queen Elizabeth, was born, and at the close of 1533 the Pope threatened Henry VIII with excommunication.

Cranmer

This threat of excommunication, so terrible in the Middle Ages, fell lightly on Henry's ears. Now that the English Church was separated from the Papacy, it was in vain for the Pope to try to cut the King of England off from all religious communion. The only danger which Henry ran was that the Catholic powers of Europe, with Katharine's nephew at their head, should lead a Holy War against England. As time went on, however, it became more and more evident that Charles V had all he could do to keep in order his vast empire without undertaking crusades on behalf of his Aunt Katharine.

The Reformation Parliament, therefore, proceeded to complete its work. In 1534 the Annates Act was finally passed; it was declared illegal to receive papal bulls in England; all share of the Pope in appointing English ecclesiastics was taken away, and the Act of Supremacy was passed. By the Act of Supremacy

anybody might be required to declare on oath that they believed the King to be the supreme head of the Church of England.

Henry still met with little resistance, but as he heard that there were great murmurings in the realm, he established spies who went among the people and reported any disloyal speeches they heard. The first tale that came to the King's ears was that of a servant-girl, Elizabeth Barton, who had become a nun and was known as the "Holy Maid of Kent." She had denounced the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn and, in a trance, prophesied the King's fall. High and low sought the "Holy Maid" and believed in her prophecies, and in 1534 she and several priests, her patrons, were seized by the King and hanged at Tyburn. To the King's joy, the chief opponents of his new ecclesiastical policy, Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher of Rochester, were implicated, but there was no evidence for their conviction.

Henry, however, had fully determined to break Fisher and More to his will, or to make these two foremost Englishmen a terrible example to his whole realm. They were called upon to take the oath to the Act of Supremacy and, in company with some friars of the Charterhouse, were the only people in the realm who had the courage to resist the King. It was best for the future of England that the country in that transitional period should have religious uniformity, but the execution of More, Fisher and the Charterhouse friars in 1535 was a deed which caused a thrill of horror throughout Europe. The friars showed wonderful heroism, and their death was said to be a "pitiful and strange spectacle, for it is long

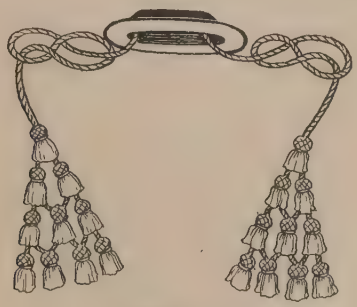
since persons have been known to die with greater constancy."

Fisher's end was hastened by the action of the Pope, who unwisely sent a cardinal's hat to this faithful bishop. The King was enraged, and swore that Fisher, if he wore it, should wear it on his shoulders, for he should have no head to set it on. Before the year closed Fisher mounted the scaffold on Tower Hill, robed in his best, for it was, he quaintly said, his wedding day. As he climbed the steps the sun broke forth in front of him, and he murmured:

"*Accedite ad eum et illuminamini.*"

His head was placed on London Bridge as a warning to traitors, his body carelessly and irreverently buried.

Of Thomas More we have now to hear.



Cardinal's Hat

CHAP. X—"THE MIRROR OF VIRTUE IN WORLDLY GREATNESS" (1478-1535)

SIR THOMAS MORE was born in Milk Street, London, in 1478, a year after the issue of the first printed book in England. He was sent to St Anthony's, a famous school in the city, and perhaps as a child of seven saw Henry VII ride through the streets of London after the battle of Bosworth Field. When he was thirteen years of age he was placed by his father in the household of Cardinal Morton. In those days great nobles and ecclesiastics often trained well-born or talented youths in manners and accomplishments. More soon won the good opinion of the great minister on account of a ready wit that never failed him through life. At Christmas time, when all was merry in the Cardinal's hall, and bands of players were performing before Morton and his guests, the young More would suddenly run in among the actors "and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside." The Cardinal used often to say to the nobles who dined with him:

"This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man."

In due course the young man went to Oxford, where he attended the Greek lectures of Linacre and Grocyn. Afterwards he became, like his father before him, a barrister, and speedily won fame and wealth. When he was about twenty-one years of age, More entertained the idea of becoming a monk. While the literary men of the Italian and French Renaissance were devoted to humanism, the young English scholar wore a hair shirt, prayed, fasted, denied himself sleep and scourged himself like a Carthusian monk. The hair shirt he wore until his dying day, and always remained a deeply religious man, but he did not enter a monastery. The history of his marriage, which took place in 1505, is amusing and illustrates More's unselfish nature. "He resorted," we are told, "to the house of one Mr Colte, a gentleman of Essex, that had often invited him thither, having three daughters whose honest conversation and virtuous education provoked him there specially to set his affection. And albeit his mind most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered that it would be both great grief and some shame to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage, he then, of a certain pity, framed his fancy to her, and soon after married her." Erasmus tells us that More was careful to choose a young country girl, so that he could mould her character. His ideas about marriage do not seem to have been very romantic.

More commenced his public career in the days of Henry VII. He was returned as a member of Parliament in 1504, and for the first time threw down his gauntlet to a king. He defeated the attempt of

Dudley to secure an unusually large aid for the King, and one of the courtiers at once ran to tell the stern monarch that "a beardless boy" had brought about Dudley's failure. In his anger Henry fined and imprisoned More's father, and More had to retire into private life. Like Colet, Erasmus and the rest of the

Family of Sir Thomas More

party of the New Learning, he must have rejoiced when death stole the sceptre from the old King's hands.

The English humanists rested wild hopes on the new monarch. Lord Mountjoy wrote in haste to Erasmus, that now "an almost divine" prince had succeeded to the throne he expected Erasmus would fly to England. "Our King," he fondly remarked, "does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality." Mountjoy added that the young monarch had expressed the wish that he were more learned: "I

said 'That is not what we expect of your Grace, but that you will foster and encourage learned men.' 'Yea, surely,' said he, 'for indeed without them we should scarcely exist at all.' What more splendid saying could fall from the lips of a prince?" Henry no doubt meant what he said when he said it, but twenty-six years later Sir Thomas More, the chief English scholar, was to lose his head on the block by the command of this well-disposed prince.

More published, in 1517, the book which won him wide European fame, the *Utopia*. This book, one of the most powerful appeals for social reform that has ever been written, contained bitter, ironical attacks on kings, but it was read with delight by all the princes of Europe. Henry VIII never ceased pressing its brilliant author to enter his service. At last More, to the dismay of his intellectual friends, who thoroughly despised statesmen, was obliged to consent. Henry was delighted, for he saw clearly that he could do what he liked if he could get good and wise men to support his measures. He made More a promise which he no doubt meant to observe—that is, that he would respect More's conscience; and he bade him "first to look unto God and after God to him."

Henry became fonder of More than of anybody else except Wolsey. More was very good company, although he angered serious people by his constant habit of jesting, and the King and Queen used to send for him after supper "to be merry with them." Henry took More with him when he went to meet the French king at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. More does not seem to have returned the royal compliment, and "when he perceived them so much in his talk to delight that

he could not in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children," he "began thereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by little and little from his former mirth to disuse himself, that he was of them from thenceforth no more so ordinarily sent for at such seasons." The King used, however, to appear unexpectedly at Sir Thomas's house in Chelsea, to dine, and afterwards walk and talk in More's garden, his arm thrown round More's neck. More's son-in-law, William Roper, thought that More must be deeply gratified by the King's familiarity, but More, already embittered by the service of the State, said to him, "Son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France . . . it should not fail to go."

More's Chelsea house was famed throughout Europe as a home of learning and resort of scholars. It was afterwards the town house of great nobles aud ultimately came into the possession of the Duke of Beaufort. It was pulled down in 1740, but a few of its bricks may be found in the old buildings in Beaufort Street. It had a large garden and orchard, a chapel, library and gallery. More used daily to hold family prayers of great length, including the Litany, and he devoted the whole of Friday to his own devotions. He was passionately attached to his children, whom he treated with an indulgence almost unheard of at this time. They were taught Latin, Greek and every accomplishment, without the whip: as he once wrote to them in Latin verses, he had given them many kisses but stripes hardly ever. Four children and eleven grandchildren made a large and merry household. They kept pets, and, like the Queen and many of the nobles, cherished

monkeys. Holbein painted one of these monkeys in his portrait of the family. Below the house ran the Thames, where More kept a great barge and eight watermen.

On Wolsey's fall, in 1529, More became the first lay Lord Chancellor of England, and reformers rejoiced that the chief judicial power in the country had fallen to

Henry and More in the Chelsea Garden

such a just man. More proved an excellent chancellor: he made, as was to be expected, many powerful enemies, but the poor blessed his name.

As a devout Catholic, however, More was in a very dangerous position. When the King began to pass Acts against Rome in 1532 he resigned the chancellorship, although he had lost his private practice. To meet this reverse of fortune he dismissed his gentlemen

and yeomen, but treated the matter so lightly that it was some time before his family would credit their loss. He refused to attend at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, thus incurring the anger of the King, and after clearing himself in the matter of the "Holy Maid of Kent," was wearied by the King's promises, threats and arguments. His friend, the Duke of Norfolk, who was himself, fifteen years later, to fall from Henry's favour, warned him of his danger and reminded him of the proverb:

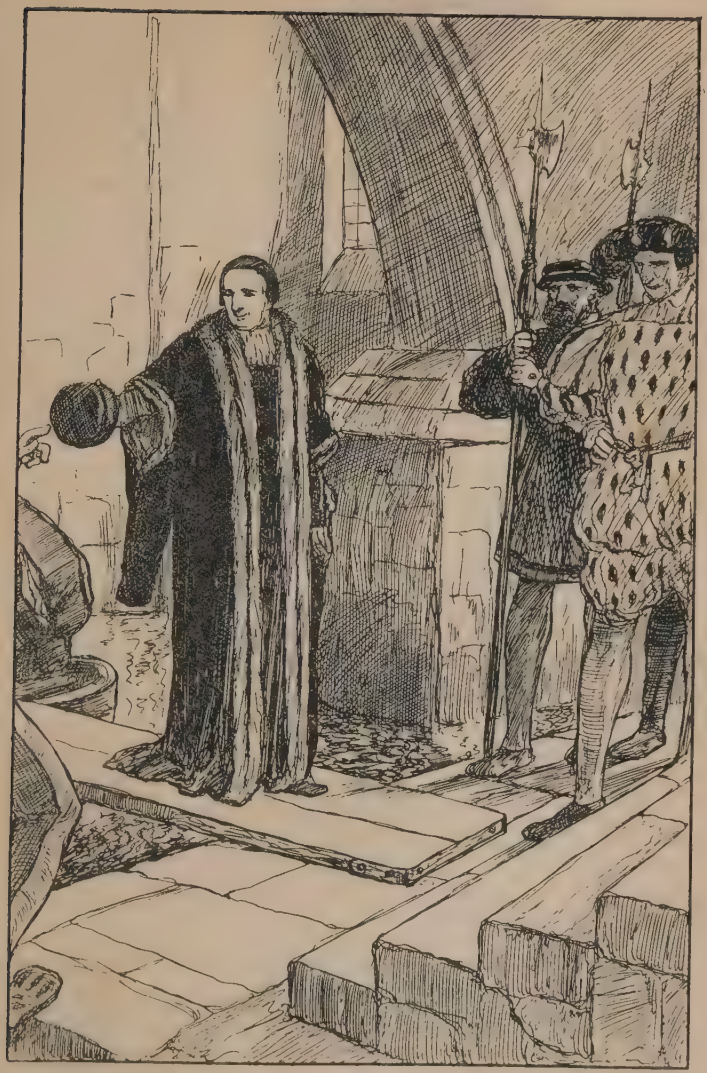
"The anger of a prince is death."

More, who had an uncanny gift of prophecy, only replied:

"Then the difference between your Grace and me is but this: that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow."

The King, however, devised a new scheme for destroying More, and early in 1534 More was sent for to appear at Lambeth to take the oath to the Act of Supremacy. Ordinarily the whole More household went with him down to the river to see him embark for London, but this morning he allowed none of them to accompany him, shutting the wicket gate with a heavy heart, for he knew that he should never return to that peaceful abode. After four days' examination he once more took boat on the Thames, but this time it was not to row upstream to Chelsea, but downstream to the Tower. To all appearance he was in high spirits. He greeted the porter's usual demand for his upper garment by the present of his cap. He was asked by the courteous Lieutenant of the Tower if he was comfortable, and replied:

"I do not mislike my cheer, Mr Lieutenant, but whensoever I so do, then thrust me out of your doors."

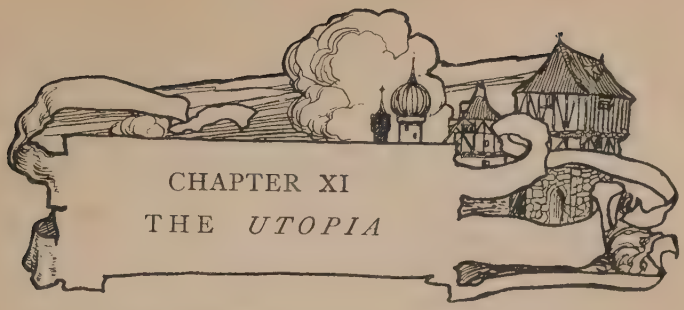


Sir Thomas More gives his Cap to the Porter at the Tower

He had little cause for jesting. From his window he saw the Charterhouse monks led out to execution, and his wife came and annoyed him with unsympathetic advice, bidding him, somewhat harshly, follow the example of all the wise men in the realm. More felt her conduct bitterly. Shortly afterwards he was tried and condemned to death. After bidding a touching farewell to his favourite daughter, Margaret, he was executed on Tower Hill on the eve of St Thomas, 1535, expressing his pleasure that his death had fallen on his saint's eve. He donned his best clothes and jested to the last, bidding the Lieutenant of the Tower see him safely up the rickety, overworked scaffold. "For my coming down," he said, "let me shift for myself." He then told the bystanders to bear witness that he died for the Catholic faith. Europe was shocked at the news of his death, and Charles V declared that in Henry's place he would rather have lost his best city. Sir Thomas More has been canonized in modern times (1886) by Pope Leo XIII.

More and Margaret await the Summons to his death

It is a sign of the towering strength of Henry VIII that he could bring about the death of a man like More, famed throughout Christendom for learning and virtue, and guilty of no treason.



CHAPTER XI
THE *UTOPIA*

MORE'S book, the *Utopia*, was the first-fruits of the Renaissance in England. It lacks the poetry and joy of life of French literature of the time, but is clear, easy and epigrammatic, and has a fine irony that is one of the rarest things in English literature. Moreover, it is an acute criticism of society by a deeply philanthropic mind, an invaluable picture of the general social life of the time, and especially of that of England, and is marked by a noble sympathy with the poor and oppressed. Society to More at that age appeared to be a "conspiracy of rich men." The book shows the influence both of the Renaissance and of the voyages of discovery, the plot being drawn from Plato's *Republic*, and the scene being cast in the New World. The word Utopia comes from the Greek and means "nowhere."

More had been sent as ambassador to Flanders, and one day, he tells us, while in the city of Antwerp, he marked a friend of his, Peter Giles, talking with a stranger: "a man well-stricken in age, with a black, sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders, whom, by his favour and apparel, forthwith I judged to be a mariner." This stranger

turned out to be a Portuguese traveller, Raphael Hythlodaye (Hythlodaye meaning myth-maker in Greek), who had sailed to the New World with Americo Vespucci and obtained leave from Americo to stay behind when the rest of the crew returned to Spain. More then invited his friend and the traveller to his Antwerp house, and, seated on a bench in his garden, the traveller entertained them with deep political discourse. More expresses his own thoughts in this imaginary conversation. First Hythlodaye made a bitter attack on statesmen who, he said, corrupt princes. More had asked him why, with all his wisdom, he did not become the councillor of some great ruler, and Raphael replied that kings only cared about war and preferred to enlarge their dominions rather than to rule them well. He instanced the French king's councillors beating their brains and searching their wits to find out how the King could best keep Milan, recover Naples, defeat the Venetians, conquer all Italy and then reduce Flanders, Brabant and Burgundy. Then Raphael said that he had visited England, and spoke of the great evils that he had found there. He was particularly indignant at the harshness of the laws against thieves, who were punished with death. He bitterly complained of the wars, through which so many maimed soldiers were then wandering about the countryside, of the fashionable gentlemen who kept crowds of idle, brawling retainers liable to be suddenly thrown on the labour market unfit for labour. He disapproved of standing armies such as were kept up in France and the empire, and made an attack on the new system of sheep-farming which was destroying the old agricultural system of England. He drew a pitiful

picture of the suffering caused to the poor by this necessary change. Landowners in haste to grow rich threw down houses and plucked up towns to make pasture-land, and turned the very churches into sheep-folds. The poor husbandmen were thrust out: "They must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes. . . . Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed homes, finding no place to rest in." When they had spent their small capital they must steal, for which the punishment was hanging, or beg, for which they might be cast into prison as vagabonds. God, said Raphael, had requited such wickedness by sending a plague on the sheep, but this had so raised the price of wool that the poor could no longer buy it to make up into cloth. Moreover, a few rich men had now got all the sheep and artificially kept up the price of wool. Miserable poverty was general, and so also was wanton extravagance. People fed sumptuously and showed "proud newfangledness" in their dress. Drinking and gambling were widespread. To get money, kings raised the value of coin or lowered its quality, to the ruin of the poor. They pretended to be going to war as an excuse for taxing their

"Away they trudge"

subjects. They revived obsolete laws and fined those who had broken them. Their councillors told them that it was to their interest for their subjects to be poor, as "need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce."

More and Peter Giles, his friend, begged Raphael to give them an account of the Island of Utopia, and, after dinner, the three returned to the garden. Raphael Hythlodaye then described to them the ideal state which he had discovered in his wanderings. Every excellency of this imaginary country was meant by More to be a contrast to the state of things in England.

Like the English, the Utopians inhabited an island. The island was dotted all over with cities, the citizens of which had each in their turn to perform the duties of farmers. More emphasizes the importance of agriculture, which was then decaying in England. As a specimen city, Hythlodaye described the city of Amaurote, situated on a river very like the Thames, but very unlike sixteenth-century London. The streets were wide and handsome, each house possessing a garden in which was the citizen's chief pride. The windows of all the houses were glazed, and none were locked, for there was no private property in Utopia. The citizens even exchanged houses every ten years. Each city was governed by a prince elected for life and four elected councillors. It was death for the prince and his council to conspire to oppress the people.

No one worked more than six hours a day. They read a great deal, and the best scholars received permission to spend all their time in learning. No one was overworked, as no one was idle and no one was

employed in making useless things. Each wore a dress made of leather or skin which lasted seven years, and over this homely garment was placed a cloak of natural-coloured wool when out of doors. In their linen, whiteness, not fineness, was regarded. This ideal of simplicity explains why More himself wore rough clothes which formed such a contrast to the splendid raiment of English society and were generally considered an affectation. Thus all the people of Utopia needed only to work until the necessaries of life had been produced.

All the eatables and clothing were stored in barns from which the people fetched away whatever they needed, making no payment. Dinner and supper were taken together in banqueting-halls to which they were summoned at the meal-hour by a brazen trumpet. They were allowed to dine or sup at home, but it was not thought very "honest." All degrading toil was done by bondmen. More, like other men of his time, approved of slavery. Children either served at table or, if too young, stood by in "marvellous silence," and made their meal of what was handed them from the table. Tudor times were evil ones for children! Music was played and perfumes burned during the meal-time, as the Utopians "think no kind of pleasure forbidden whereof cometh no harm."

There were no wine taverns, and if a man travelled abroad he obtained no food in other Utopian cities unless he did a day's work. Gold and silver were utterly despised and used as chains for prisoners; infamous people were forced to wear golden ornaments as badges like our broad arrows. Children treasured precious stones, but put them away "of their own

shamefastness" when they grew older, as English children do their playthings.

They had few laws and no lawyers. They made no leagues, and here More ironically attacks the Old World: "Here, in Europe," said Hythlodaye, "and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere

esteemed holy and inviolable through the justness and goodness of princes and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. . . . It might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should have no place." More had very good reason for his bitterness! Contrary to the custom of almost all other nations the Utopians "count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in war." But they underwent warlike discipline daily in order to be able to defend their own country and to ride forth to right the wrong.

The utmost tolerance was allowed in religion, except that those who did not believe in the immortality of

the soul were not allowed to hold office in the commonwealth. They firmly held that it was "in no man's power to believe what he list." More changed his mind about toleration later, and, as Lord Chancellor, himself caused heretics to be racked and burned. Those of the Utopians who devoted their lives to religion were not idle. On the contrary, if any work was so unpleasant, hard and vile that it repelled all others, they took it upon themselves willingly and gladly. The priests were chosen by the people like the other magistrates, and might marry. The State was not allowed to punish them for offences, because the Utopians "think it not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God." This immunity was not dangerous, because they had so few priests and only appointed men of great virtue. All these were burning questions in the England of More's time.

Hythlodaye concluded by saying that in no other nation had he found any equity or justice: "For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith or usurer, or, to be short, any one of them which either do nothing at all or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or by unnecessary business; when in the meantime poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil as drawing or bearing beasts be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should yet get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and

miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier?"

The traveller made an end of his tale, and his host took him by the hand and led him in to supper, disagreeing, he pretends, with many of his opinions. "And yet," More says, "must I needs confess and grant that many things be in the Utopian weal public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope after."

Perhaps we may endorse both those conclusions of More's.

Leathern Purse

ALTHOUGH Henry VIII had abolished the papal power, he had no sympathy with Puritanism, and wished the religious change to stop with the substitution of his own supremacy over the English Church for that of the Pope. But Cranmer, for whom the King had both respect and affection, and Cromwell, who well knew how to bring about his own ends, desired further changes.

Cranmer now represented the New Learning in opposition to the conservative party of the Old Learning, at the head of which was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Cranmer placed Latimer and other prominent reformers in bishoprics, and it was probably due to the Archbishop's influence that Convocation in 1534 petitioned for an authorized English version of the Bible.

Cromwell's influence on Henry was very different from that of Cranmer, and Cromwell was perhaps a more remarkable man than Cranmer. His commonplace face could light up with an expression of extraordinary subtlety and, when he chose, his conversation sparkled with wit. His speeches to those who opposed him show a terrible power of biting reproach. He learned his readiness and unscrupulousness in many a strange school of life and in many a variety of

occupations and experiences; but his principles of action were fashioned so closely after Machiavelli's book, *The Prince*, that people thought Cromwell had studied this treatise when he was in Italy. It certainly caused him much delight in later life.

The Prince was a typical product of the Italian Renaissance. It is an extremely deep study in statesmanship, but was thought the most wicked book of the age, as, instead of drawing up a list of rules for the ideally Christian ruler of an ideally Christian people, Machiavelli looked at things as they were, and showed how a society of human beings, all with a natural tendency to evil, might be governed to their own advantage by a sovereign who also, being human, possessed evil traits.

Cromwell had attracted general attention in 1523, by a remarkable speech in Parliament against the war with France. Wolsey took him into his service and employed him to suppress a few small monasteries in order to obtain funds for his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. Cromwell, afterwards to be known as "The Hammer of the Monks," carried out this delicate task to the Cardinal's entire satisfaction. He continued to be the agent of the Cardinal's unpopular acts and afterwards performed the same function in the King's service. With Cromwell's help Henry VIII carried out the greatest revolution in English history, but with all his wisdom this Machiavellian statesman could not long keep his own boat off the rocks.

Cavendish draws a picture of Cromwell in 1529, in Wolsey's great chamber at Esher, saying matins and weeping, both very unusual sights in Cromwell, and discovered that he feared that his own ruin would

follow that of the Cardinal. At noon that day, however, Cromwell started on the journey to London which was to be so fateful in his career, telling Cavendish that he was riding to the Court "either to make or mar."

The King was very glad to take over such a useful servant, and at once employed Cromwell to seize the revenues of Wolsey's schools and colleges, and probably to spy on those who were muttering against the evil treatment of Queen Katharine. Cromwell did his utmost on Wolsey's behalf, whether from fidelity or to make a good impression is not known.

Cromwell became the King's secretary in 1534, assisted in the examination of More and Fisher, and proceeded to suggest to the King ideas less platonic than Cranmer's for the reform of the Church. The riches of the Church was one of the chief complaints of the reformers, and Cromwell perhaps pointed out to Henry how much he had to gain by putting an end to this abuse. The religious houses owned a large part of the land of the country, and their possessions would mean an enormous increase of wealth to the King. Indeed, if the Crown had retained the monastic lands, when they were seized, it would have made a tremendous change in the history of England. It was found necessary in the end, however, to bribe the laity with large grants of territory, and, as the clergy had bent through fear of the King, so now the more conservative members of the party of the Old Learning showed themselves willing to accept large grants of Church lands. Afterwards they dreaded a return of the Papacy, lest they should have to disemburse. So much land was given to laymen during the reigns of

Henry VIII and Edward VI that a new aristocracy sprang up and took the place of that which had been destroyed during the Wars of the Roses.

Early in 1535 Cromwell, a layman, was appointed the King's vicar-general and visitor-general of the Church. He caused a visitation to be made, and reported that the smaller monasteries sheltered idleness and immorality; and Parliament, in which a general cry of "Down with them!" was raised, passed, in 1536, an Act for their dissolution. Three hundred and seventy-six houses were at once pulled down.

The common people, who made a great outcry against the suppression later, at first aided Cromwell's officials in plundering the religious houses. In the south the religious orders were not loved, for it was proverbial that a monk never gave alms, but in the north their work of relieving distress by food or medicine was quickly missed. Political, social and religious incendiaries tramped over Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and before the close of 1536 the north of England rose in arms in the rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The rebels, under the leadership of Robert Aske, were peaceable in intention, merely meaning to march to London to the "King's Highness" and beseech him to remove base members like Cromwell from his council and heretics like Cranmer from the realm, govern by the advice of his old nobility, and retain the faith of Christ. Their forces were so strong that the Duke of Suffolk was glad to get them to disband by making fraudulent promises.

Again Henry VIII, no doubt by Cromwell's advice, determined on a policy of terrorization, and, despite the promises, so many people were hanged in public

Visitation of a Religious House

view in various parts of the north, that, it was said, such a great number had never been put to death before at one time in England. The Yorkshire noble, Lord Darcy, as he was being led away to execution, cursed Cromwell, saying:

"I trust that . . . though thou wouldst procure all the noblemen's heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet shall there one head remain that shall strike off thy head."

Duke of Suffolk

In due time this curse was to fall.

To Cromwell, however, this revolt seemed merely to furnish a pretext for the future suppression, which he began to carry out in 1537. The larger houses did not show the gross abuses which had justified the abolition of the smaller ones, although it had already been said that the small monasteries were only thorns, the great abbeys "putrefied old oaks." But the most was made of the way in which they had traded on the credulity of the laity. The "Rood of Grace" at Boxley Abbey, held in great reverence because its eyes moved, was exposed to the people with its machinery visible; the famous "Blood of Hailes" was shown to be red ochre, and the Crown at last avenged upon the Church the humiliation which it had suffered in the time of Henry II: cartloads of gold, silver and jewels were carried away from the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, the saint's festival was

abolished, and himself declared a rebel and traitor. St Thomas's shrine was almost the symbol of the sovereignty of the Church, and the Pope, who had allowed all Henry's previous attacks to pass, now, in 1538, ordered the execution of his bulls of excommunication.

In 1539 Parliament passed an Act for the total suppression of the monasteries. It was immediately performed, several abbots who were troublesome being hanged, and the monks and nuns were finally turned out into the wide world which to the older of them had become a foreign country.

"Turned out into the Wide World"

Although Cranmer, like Cromwell, disapproved of the wealth of the Church and the monastic system, there were reforms about which he was still more anxious. He was a man after the pattern of Colet and Sir Thomas More, a scholar and saint, in no way resembling the ruffianly Cromwell. Only his anti-papal views separated him from the little band of Oxford reformers. His great anxiety, like that of Tyndale (who suffered a martyr's death in the Netherlands in 1536), was to have the Scriptures and Church services translated into English. Miles Coverdale's Bible, not a work of great scholarship like Tyndale's, but important as the first authorized version of the English Bible, was published in 1535; and in 1536 every Church was ordered to possess a copy of "Matthew's Bible," which

the clergy were to encourage the people to read. This new Bible was the condemned translation of Tyndale completed from the work of Coverdale. From this Bible, which England owes to Cranmer, the present Authorized Edition was drawn up in the following century.

Both Cranmer and Cromwell, for different reasons,

Henry VIII delivering the Bible to Cranmer and Cromwell

thought that Henry VIII ought to make an alliance with the Protestants of Germany. Encouraged by Cranmer and hoping to please the Lutherans, Henry drew up the Ten Articles of faith for the English Church in 1536. The Real Presence in the Sacrament, confession, images, and the invocation of saints were all retained by the conservative King, but the Ten Articles declared that the Bible and Creeds were the sole foundations of the Christian religion, and that faith was necessary as well as good works. Miracles, pilgrimages and the keeping of saints days, attacked by Colet and More years ago, were now discouraged

by the Government, and the clergy were exhorted to explain the Christian faith to their flocks in English.

Henry, however, had little sympathy with the religious ferment of the time, and he determined after the Pilgrimage of Grace that it might be wiser to avoid doctrinal changes. He therefore caused the bishops in 1537 to draw up the more conservative *Institution of a Christian Man* or *The Bishops' Book.* Henry opposed the marriage of the clergy and the administration of the wine of the Sacrament to the laity, crept to the Cross on Good Friday and served the priest at mass.

In 1539 he had retreated still further, and Parliament, under his influence, passed the Statute of the Six Articles, known to reformers as the Whip with the Six Strings. By this Act, among other severe penalties, death at the stake was made the punishment for denying the Real Presence. Cromwell, while he lived, prevented the execution of this harsh statute, but Cromwell, like Wolsey, was soon to wreck his projects through a new royal marriage. Henry's wives brought no man any good fortune.

Henry soon tired of Anne Boleyn and fell in love with Jane Seymour, who had still less claim to beauty than Anne and lacked Anne's vivacity, but was modest and pious. The spies of Cromwell were employed to watch the wretched young Queen who was charged with many evil deeds, and attainted and beheaded in 1536. Hard, coarse and vain, Anne showed at the end a spirit equal to that of the proud Tudors. She "laughed heartily," said the Lieutenant of the Tower, when she was informed of the sentence against her, and, putting her hands round her "little neck," said

that the executioner would have no hard task. The next day the King married Jane Seymour, whose little son, born on the eve of St Edward's Day, 1537, shortly before his mother's death, was the last male Tudor.

In 1539 Parliament passed a statute which marked the culmination of the Tudor despotism: the proclamations of the King, unless contrary to the law of the land, were declared binding on the nation.

Queen Jane Seymour

After the third Queen's death, Cromwell, in spite of all his wisdom, urged the King to accept a German bride whom he should choose for him. The Duchess of Milan, whose portrait by Holbein is now in the National Gallery, London, was considered by everybody the most beautiful woman in Europe; but Cromwell, wishing Henry to ally himself with the Duke of Cleves, returned from Germany with the wild exaggeration that Anne of Cleves excelled the Duchess of Milan "as the golden sun did the silver moon."

It was true that Anne was generally allowed to be good-looking and Henry finally agreed to the match. She was brought in great state to England, the King meeting her at Rochester on New Year's Day, 1540. Henry afterwards said that he conceived an aversion to her at first sight, calling her in his coarse way a "Flanders mare." He was perhaps not likely to admire the quiet charms of Anne of Cleves, who, moreover, could speak no English and was too perfect a lady (so they said in Germany) to have any other accomplishment than embroidery; but it is curious that she is the only one of his wives who had any

Cromwell assaulted at the Council

pretensions to beauty. In Holbein's portrait of Anne, she has the sweet and refined expression which constitutes a great part of the charm of his famous "Duchess of Milan." The Tudor chronicler, Hall, says she was so beautiful "that every creature rejoiced to behold her"; and this was probably true, as, in imitation of her dress, "then began all the gentlewomen of England to wear French hoods with bellements of gold."

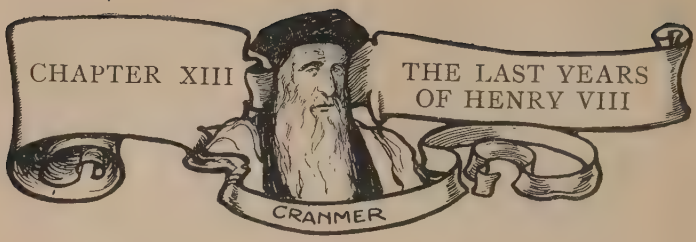
Anne of Cleves

Henry married Anne, but bore his minister a grudge for it, and six months later Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, was arrested. To his many enemies the news seemed too good to be true. When he appeared before the Council one noble seized his Order of the Garter, another tore from him the ribbon of St George, and all reviled him. As "Thomas Cromwell, shearman"—for Cromwell was of lowly origin—he was condemned to death as a traitor and heretic.

Cromwell left a deep mark on English history. The success and permanence of the English Reformation was probably due to him. The English Bible, very much as we read it to-day, was drawn up under his administration. He overthrew the whole system of pilgrimages, worship of relics and other superstitions for generations denounced by enlightened minds in vain. He brought the Tudor monarchy to the height of its power at a time when the greatest need of the

country was a strong government, and he created a new nobility which was, in time, to save England from the despotism of the Crown. So long as the King upheld him he never failed, hated as he was. He could see into men's hearts and read their secrets, and the nobles feared him as they had never feared Wolsey and did not yet fear the King.

Henry VIII, from his Great Seal



(1540-1547)

HENRY'S fourth marriage was speedily, in its turn, declared null and void, and the King at once married Katharine Howard, niece of Cromwell's great foe, the Duke of Norfolk. Two years later terrible charges were brought against Katharine Howard, and Henry, in grief and rage, sent her also to atone for her alleged crimes on the block. He wept at his ill-luck in meeting with such "ill-conditioned" wives. Henry presents a pitiable enough figure at this time. He always ate and drank too much and very soon he found all motion painful, and his cumbrous frame was wheeled about from room to room. In 1543 he married his sixth wife, the widow Katharine Parr, who outlived him.

His marriage with Katharine Howard, a devout Catholic, drew him away from the party of the New Learning, and he made it the business of his last years to restore religious uniformity to his kingdom. He therefore drew up, in 1543, the *King's Book*, dictating to the people of his realm the religious opinions which they ought to hold. As large numbers of people were now setting up sects of their own, Parliament in this year forbade anybody but noblemen to read the Bible.

The party of the Old Learning rejoiced, but they were uneasy because Cranmer still enjoyed the King's favour. Plot after plot against the Archbishop failed, for the King, although now determined to repress heresy, trusted Cranmer alone among his courtiers. At last he grew weary of the tale-bearing of Cranmer's foes and determined to punish them.

Queen Katharine Howard

He sent for Cranmer secretly at midnight and gave him his ring, saying that he would be summoned before the Council and examined to find out whether he was a heretic or no; but if in danger he was to show this token. Henry then gave Cranmer's enemies permission to try him. He was summoned before them, treated with great indignity, and was about to be sent to the Tower, when to their horror he produced the King's ring. Crestfallen, they obeyed the summons to the King's presence, and bowed low their heads to receive a typical Tudor address:

"Ah, my lords," cried Henry, as they approached, "I had thought that I had a discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have ye handled here my lord of Canterbury? What! make ye of him a slave, shutting him out of the council-chamber amongst serving-men? Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would that you would well understand that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man toward me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholding,

by the faith I owe unto God; and therefore whoso loveth me will regard him hereafter."

No one dared attack Cranmer again during Henry's lifetime, but the King warned him of the foes who lay in wait for the day when he should no longer be there to protect him.

In 1545 Henry appeared for the last time in Parliament and made a long, moving and eloquent speech on the state of religion. It was a great speech, and shows that his actions had not been due to mere tyrannical caprice, but to his statesmanship. To avoid warfare it was necessary to hold the balance between Protestant and Papist.

Military Costume, Henry VIII

"Some are called Papists," he told them, "some Lutherans, and some Anabaptists. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that precious jewel the Word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern. This kind of man is depraved and that kind of man; this ceremony and that ceremony. Of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint among you, and God Himself among Christians was never less reverenced, honoured and served."

Terrible were the measures required to silence the adherents of the new sects. Early in 1546 a young Lincolnshire lady, Anne Ayscough, was arrested for denying transubstantiation. On account of her social

position great efforts were made to save her, but in vain. In order to get her to betray other heretics, she was racked and tortured by Lord Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, and Rich, the Solicitor-General. Anne's brave silence and the courage with which she submitted to the torture until, almost dead, she was carried to Smithfield, where she was burned, have given her a foremost place among Protestant martyrs. The writings of Wycliffe, Tyndale and other heretics were even more carefully searched for than before. Protestants waited in silence for the death of the formidable monarch.

After having kept the peace for thirteen years, Henry closed his reign with wars. His armies were victorious in Scotland in 1542; and in 1543, in alliance with Charles V, he declared war on France. France never ceased to stir up the Scots against him. To carry on the war he levied heavy taxes and demanded huge benevolences, but the people scarcely raised a murmur. The Earl of Hertford was sent to Scotland and Henry himself crossed the Channel to France. Unable to fight, he stayed at Calais while his army captured Boulogne, in 1544. Again Henry was deserted by the Emperor. Charles V had got all he wanted from the war, and made peace by the Treaty of Crespy without consulting Henry. Indeed now that Charles and France were at peace Henry had again to fear a union of the Catholic powers against him. The Council of Trent, which met in 1545, discussed means for crushing heresy, and Henry thought it would be wise to follow the old advice of Cromwell and make a new alliance with the Protestants of Germany. It turned out that he was safe enough from the Emperor,

who liked England to be strong enough to keep France in its place. This fear of France was to be the salvation of England until she became strong enough to repel the Catholic invasion which after long years came.

Henry devoted himself, in expectation of such an invasion, to one of his greatest works. Part of the wealth of the monasteries had been spent in strengthening the defences of the country, and now new fortifications were raised on the coast, ships built and reforms introduced into the army and navy. At last news came of the approach of an enemy. It was the French coming to avenge the English capture of Boulogne! Henry himself went down to Portsmouth and anxiously watched the naval battle which followed. One after the other the French ships filed out of the Solent, broken and humiliated. England might not be a great power, but no foreign state could land its armies on our shores.

Suit of Armour, Henry VIII

The cost of these wars was, however, terrible. The country was taxed to the last point, and Henry had tampered with the coinage. People had not yet discovered the great evils which are caused by altering the value of money. Henry was begged by Parliament to appease the French by giving them back Boulogne, as it was a great expense to us and of no use, and as

the honour of England was now quite safe. Moreover, the German Protestants urged him not to weaken France, the only power which could keep the German Emperor in check. Henry was unwilling to relinquish his conquest, and, to enable him to carry on the war, Parliament granted him a subsidy and permission to dissolve all colleges, chapels and chantries and take their revenues. In the end he gave way and made peace, in 1546, agreeing to surrender Boulogne in eight years in return for money payments.

The Poet, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey

Shortly before the King's death the fate which Sir Thomas More had foretold to the Duke of Norfolk fell on his poet son, the Earl of Surrey. Despite the King's stern speech, there was still bitter strife between the Old and the New Learning, and in 1546 the enemies of the Duke persuaded the King that Norfolk was aiming at the succession. The greatest general of England, the hero of Flodden, and his son, were thereupon thrown into the Tower. The Earl of Surrey was beheaded at the commencement of 1547. Before his death he reproached the King angrily for destroying all the old nobility and ruling only by low-born men. The charge was true, but it was a wise policy of the King's. Before Norfolk could be brought to the block, the King himself came to his end. Sentence was passed against the Duke, but late that night Henry, at the point of death, sent for Cranmer. When

the Archbishop arrived the King was speechless, but when asked for a sign that he trusted in the Lord, he stretched forth his hand and pressed Cranmer's. In token of his sorrow, Cranmer ever afterwards left his beard uncut, and perhaps he alone in all England sincerely mourned for the passing of Henry VIII.

For three days the King's Council kept his death a secret, arranging for the carrying out of their private schemes in the new government of the new reign.

Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk, father of the Earl of Surrey

IT was with great misgiving that the old King contemplated his removal from the helm while the storm raged which he himself found difficulty in weathering. To protect the realm from fanatics during the minority of his little son he appointed a council of regency composed equally of men of the Old and men of the New Learning. With the consent of Parliament, he bequeathed the crown to Edward, Mary and Elizabeth in succession. If they died childless it was to go to the children of the daughters of his sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk. He made no mention of the descendants of his sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland, probably because he did not wish a Scot to rule over England. His will, however, was immediately set aside: the party of the New Learning seized the power and retained it throughout Edward's reign.

At two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-eighth of January 1547, Edward VI, now nine years of age, succeeded to the throne of England. He had been a fine baby. The Lord Chancellor said, when he was nearly a year old: "I never saw so goodly a child

of his age, so merry, so pleasant, so good and loving countenance, and so earnest an eye." About two years later, his nurse, Lady Brian, wrote to Cromwell that she wished "the King's Grace and your lordship had seen him Easter night. . . . The minstrels played and his Grace danced and played so wantonly that he could not stand still, and was as full of pretty toys as ever I saw a child in my life."

He was very quick at his letters. By the age of six he had acquired the rudiments of Latin grammar and read with delight the *Proverbs of Solomon.* At eight he wrote a Latin letter to Cranmer, and at thirteen he had a very good knowledge of Greek. But by the time of his accession he seems to have lost the physical vitality of healthy childhood, and become a serious, studious, religious boy; and he proved a precocious persecutor of heretics.

The power which Edward was not able to exercise himself had been bequeathed by his father to a well-balanced Council, and fell first into the hands of his uncle, Lord Hertford, a distinguished general but inexperienced statesman, and afterwards into the hands of a self-seeking noble, the son of Dudley, the extortioner employed by Henry VII. Both these two men were to come to an evil end, which in one case was well deserved.

Edward Seymour, brother of Queen Jane, and Earl of Hertford, had been made by Henry VIII one of the Council that was to govern England during Edward's minority. Hertford, however, immediately persuaded the remaining members of the Council to make him Lord Protector of the realm and Governor of the King's person, and obtained the dukedom of

Somerset. The new Duke of Somerset had for a long time been leader of the party of the New Learning, and now used his great position to carry out many reforms, both social and religious, in England. He failed, partly through the base scheming of his enemies, but chiefly because he tried to bring about the millennium in the two brief years of his rule.

At the outset Somerset was brilliantly successful. Henry VIII had bidden him push on the marriage of Edward and the infant Queen of Scots. The French, however, who were always intriguing in Scotland, set the Scots against the marriage, reminding them that England was always plotting to annex Scotland. Somerset now made the old mistake. He roused Scottish pride and anger by reviving the old claim of feudal overlordship, and invading Scotland with a large army. He slew 10,000 Scots at the battle of Pinkie Cleuch, in 1547, and returned to London covered with glory. But the only result of this last battle between England and Scotland before the union of their crowns, was that Mary Queen of Scots was sent to France out of harm's way. She was married to the Dauphin, and brought great evil on England in after days, while the massacre of Pinkie Cleuch postponed for some time any possibility of friendship between England and Scotland.

Somerset was less fortunate in England than in Scotland. With the aid of Cranmer and Latimer, he introduced considerable Protestant changes into the Church. He deserted the "middle way" of Henry VIII, and this led to much licence and encouraged fanatics. The reformers named the little King "the English Josiah," as they called to mind the child

of eight who had ruled over Judah and reformed the Jewish Church. Edward had been brought up by reformers and was one of the most ardent in the kingdom. The Act of the Six Articles was at once repealed, and images and altars were removed from the churches. The chantries established to pray for the dead were abolished, as the monasteries had been under Henry VIII. The English service was enforced in every church. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1549, directed the use of the Book of Common Prayer which Cranmer had drawn up. This book, written in the stately English of the mid-sixteenth century, was fashioned as far as possible so that all Christians might use it. It is one of the claims to greatness of Cranmer, its author, and is one of the few permanent benefits which the impractical dreamer, Somerset, conferred on his country.

Somerset had soon to face the disloyalty of his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour, who had been made High Admiral. Lord Seymour married the Queen-Dowager, Katharine Parr, intrigued against Somerset, forged money in order to obtain funds for his treasons, and managed to win great popularity. His crimes were proved against him, and in 1549 Somerset was forced to consent to his attainder. The execution

of his brother added to the dislike which many people were beginning to feel for himself.

Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* wrote against the new sheep-farmers who were destroying the old agricultural system of the country and turning out yeomen and peasantry. Latimer and many other social reformers thought that the State ought to interfere, and Somerset, the leader of this little band, now endeavoured to check the process. Indeed some steps had to be taken, for the wretched peasants were rising in various parts of the country. Somerset would have been wiser if he had merely crushed these revolts, as he was forced to do in the long run. Instead, he ordered all who had enclosed commons to restore them. This decree set the most powerful body in the country, the great landowners, against the Protector, and, moreover, did no good. Enclosures continued to be made, and the peasantry, aided by the Catholics, who disliked the religious changes, rose against the landowners.

Robert Kett, a rich tanner, led a large force in pulling down enclosures in the county of Norfolk. He captured Norwich, where his name is still famous, and might have held the city for a considerable time, but unwisely came out and offered battle. He was misled by an old prophecy that the churls

> "With clubs and clouted shoon
> Shall fill the vale of Dussindale
> With slaughtered bodies soon."

The prophecy was to be fulfilled, but the churls were to fill the battlefield with their own, not with their enemies', bodies.

Somerset sent Dudley, now Earl of Warwick, to put down the rebels, not guessing that Warwick was already plotting against him. Warwick found no difficulty in carrying out his orders. He slew over 3000 of the insurgents, and made many prisoners. But

The Norwich Rebellion

instead of disbanding his army, he retained it and agitated for the removal of the Protector. The result was that Somerset was arrested at the close of 1549, and deprived of his office early in 1550. Warwick was created Duke of Northumberland and caused Somerset to be executed in 1552.

Although the country was in such disorder, Somerset's administration had not been a period of misrule like

that of his successor. He had heaped up riches for himself and built great houses, one of which was the old Somerset House in the Strand; but to his princely tastes he had added a real sympathy with the poor. He was beloved by the peasants for whose sake he had endangered his government, and by the better sort of reformers. The crowds that gathered on Tower Hill to see his death hoped to the end that he would be reprieved. Those nearest to the scaffold dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, and in the evil days that followed he was spoken of as "the good duke."

Great Seal of Edward VI

Northumberland was even more bent on religious changes than either Somerset or Cranmer had been, although nobody gave him credit for being a religious man. Two bishops of the Old Learning, Gardiner and Bonner, had been imprisoned by Somerset. Three more were now cast into the Tower, and replaced by extreme reformers. Northumberland vainly tried to make the haughty and iron-willed Princess Mary abandon the mass, and thus incurred the enmity of her cousin, Charles V. At the same time Joan Bocher and another Anabaptist heretic were burned. In 1552 the second Act of Uniformity was passed, enforcing the Prayer Book of 1549 which had received revision and additions. This second service was also Cranmer's work, and is practically the present Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. More churches were stripped of their chalices, crosses and ornaments, and the coinage was so debased as to be of hardly any value, but yet the

treasury was empty. Loud voices were raised in the country against the wickedness of the King's Council. Evil news came from abroad. Northumberland had been compelled to surrender Boulogne to the French, and now the King of France was burning English ships and approaching Calais. If Edward VI had lived there would have probably been a revolution.

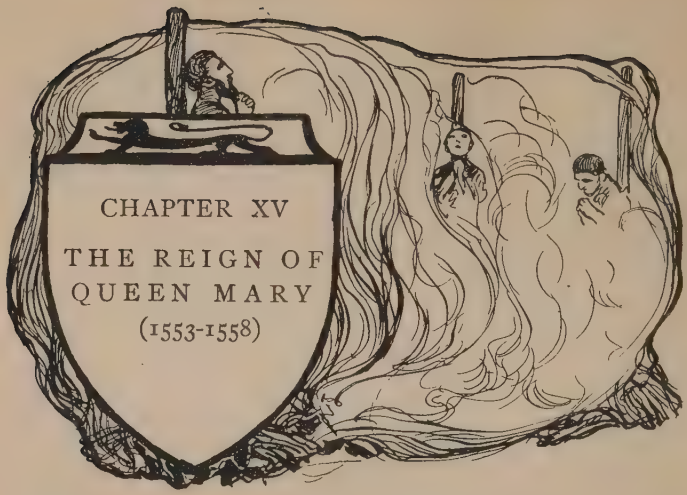
Always delicate, Edward had long been ailing, and in 1553, before making much mark on the world for good or for evil, he died. He was persuaded, shortly before his death, to bequeath the crown to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, youngest sister of Henry VIII. He agreed, because he did not want his Roman Catholic sister, Mary, to mount the throne. It was, however, a shameful plot of Northumberland's, whose son, Lord Guildford Dudley, had married Lady Jane Grey.

It was a sad thing that this innocent girl should have become mixed up in these men's selfish scheming. Her life, which was cut short, like that of her friend the young King, at the age of sixteen, had been none so bright that it should end in so terrible a tragedy. The severity with which she had been treated by her father and mother was such that she could not disclose it all. She eagerly shunned her parents' society. Her famous tutor, Roger Ascham, who also taught the Princess Elizabeth, was surprised to find her at home, bending over the works of a Greek philosopher, when she might have been out with the hounds, and she told him part of her ill-treatment, adding, with sad philosophy, that it was a useful training: it made her love her books. She was so learned that she could discourse in Latin, Greek and Eastern tongues to the

greatest scholars. Edward had been greatly attached to her. She was now brutally torn from her quiet life and forced by her ambitious father to wed Dudley and usurp the crown of the Tudors. She enraged her ruffianly kinsfolk, however, by refusing to allow her husband to be declared King without consent of Parliament.

She was only a nine days' queen. Mary, with an energy that nobody had expected from her, fled to the eastern counties and rallied an army. The whole country deserted to her, and Queen Jane begged that she might be allowed to lay down the sceptre and go home. But, innocent as she was, she was doomed to suffer with the guilty. When Queen Mary reached London the whole band of traitors was sent to the Tower.

Somerset House, built 1548



CHAPTER XV

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1553-1558)

THE accession of Queen Mary meant the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England. Katharine of Aragon had brought up her little daughter in loyalty to the Papacy and to Spain, and after Katharine's death Mary, almost alone in the realm, dared to oppose her father and remain Catholic and Imperialist. She was very harshly treated in the early days of the Reformation, even being made a lady-in-waiting of her little sister, Elizabeth. Solitary, as no other girl in England was solitary, this girl, with the blood of long lines of kings in her veins, was at last forced to confess with her lips that her father was supreme head of the Church; but she never wavered in her heart. After her coronation she set herself to restore Catholicism to her kingdom. It was, no doubt, dislike of the violent Protestantism of Northumberland which led the country unanimously to

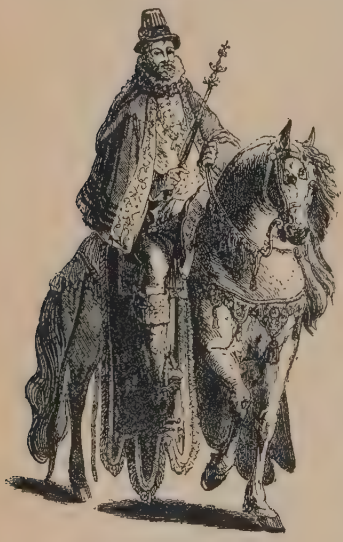
support Mary. Nobody had foreseen how intolerant she would be.

Mary had not an unmerciful nature when it was not a question of religion. Only three of the traitors who would have excluded her from the throne were executed, and one of these was the infamous Duke of Northumberland. The son of the extortioner, Edmund Dudley, Northumberland met with his father's fate. He basely recanted and received the mass, but he obtained no pardon. Lady Jane Grey bitterly exclaimed:

"Woe worth him! He hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. . . . Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men?"

Mary at once caused the release of the Duke of Norfolk, who had lain in prison during the reign of Edward VI, and was eighty years of age. The imprisoned bishops were brought forth from the Tower, and Cranmer was imprisoned as a traitor. The men of the New Learning began to tremble. Their followers had now become numerous, and all gradually perceived that they would have to recant or face a martyr's death. People who had received monastic lands marked the devotion of the new Queen with dismay, for it was spread about that she meant to restore the monasteries. When it became known that Mary intended to marry Philip II of Spain, patriots, also, were alarmed. The child of Philip and Mary might rule England as a province of Spain. English people realized how the Scots felt when Somerset tried to bring about the marriage of Mary with Edward VI. Moreover, the love of England for Spain had cooled since the days of

Henry VIII. England had other possibilities of trade besides the old wool trade with the Netherlands, and was angry with Spain for keeping the trade with Spanish America closed to her. Thus Mary alienated everybody in the country but a small band of Roman Catholic enthusiasts.



King Philip II of Spain

In several city churches riots broke out when the mass was restored, and two hundred soldiers had to be placed in St Paul's Cathedral to keep peace while the service went forward. One Sunday a gun was fired at the priest, and the offender escaped unharmed. Before 1553 closed, many reformers, including Latimer, Hooper and Coverdale, followed Cranmer to prison. Others fled in crowds over the seas to reforming cities in Germany and Switzerland, and stayed there until the close of Mary's reign. They returned at the accession of Elizabeth, bringing back with them new advanced views, and enormously strengthened the Puritan party in England.

Parliament met in 1553, and undid all the work of Edward VI, but refused at first to abolish the royal supremacy over the Church, and firmly declined to restore monastic lands. The House of Commons expostulated against the Queen's marriage with a foreigner, but this merely raised Mary's anger. She signed the

marriage treaty early in 1554. There were immediate risings in the country, and the dislike of Spain, which was to become so strong under Elizabeth, now made its first appearance. Street boys snowballed the Spanish ambassadors, while the elder people "held down their heads heavily." Wyatt's rebellion followed. The men of Devon, who were afterwards to win such great fame against Spain on the seas, rose. Lady Jane Grey's ambitious father, whom the Queen had unwisely left at liberty, thought this was a good time to revolt, and tried to raise the Midlands. But the chief rebel leader was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who intended to place Elizabeth on the throne instead of Mary, and very nearly succeeded in doing so. Wyatt met with no resistance, and arrived with his army in the heart of London city. Mary, however, showed wonderful courage and energy, and Wyatt found himself unable to capture the capital. He surrendered, and was executed in 1554. With him perished the Duke of Suffolk, his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and Lady Jane Grey. The Princess Elizabeth was naturally suspected of having agreed to the plot, and the Catholics, especially Gardiner, pressed Mary to have her put to death. But, as Elizabeth scratched with a diamond on a window-pane,

General Costume, Reigns of Edward VI and Queen Mary

"Much suspected by me,
Nothing proved can be!
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner."

Mary could obtain no proof of her guilt, and contented herself with sending the dangerous maiden as a prisoner, first to the Tower and afterwards to the palace at Woodstock.

Mary now ordered married clergy to be removed, altars, images and lights to be restored to the churches, and saints' days to be kept. Cranmer's English service was abolished. Parliament in the spring of 1554 agreed to the Queen's marriage, but refused to revive the statutes against heretics, or the statute of the Six Articles, which had been repealed under Edward VI.

Philip, a retinue of Spanish noblemen and twenty cartloads of gifts, arrived in England and proceeded to Winchester, where the marriage took place. The Queen feared the spirit of London. For the moment all seemed to promise well: Philip had agreed to respect the independence of England, and the Court party lost no opportunity of showing what a great thing it was for the small and insignificant country of England to be allied with the first power in Christendom. That at all events was Mary's view. She was ever more Spanish than English, and would probably have been quite happy to see England united to the great empire of Spain. The new ideas of nationality and a national Church were quite alien to her.

A greater joy to Mary than her accession to the throne was the return to England of her exiled kinsman, Cardinal Pole, who now came as an ambassador from the Pope to receive England back again into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Parliament had

at last given way, and at the close of 1554 the papal supremacy was restored, and the heresy acts were revived. In 1555 all the legislation of Henry VIII against Rome was repealed, except the laws which took away payments to Rome and the lands of the monasteries. English people have always been very firm on points that touch their pockets, and Mary, Philip, Pole and Gardiner were compelled to give way, although they would not suffer the Crown to profit by such ill-gotten gains.

Philip II of Spain

Foreigners expressed surprise at the lightness with which English people changed their religion, but the carrying out of the newly revived heresy laws was to show their deep and religious earnestness, and also how widely the reformed faith had spread since the days of Henry VIII. The heretics arrested in 1554 were condemned to the stake in 1555. The first person to suffer was John Rogers, an advanced Calvinist who had drawn up Matthew's Bible. He was burned in the market-place at Smithfield, about which the dismal memory of this terrible persecution still throws a gloomy shadow. This first victim suffered with a calmness and gladness which were to mark all these Protestant martyrs. The rejoicing of the assembled crowds at such courage might have been for a wedding in the old church of St Bartholomew on the other side of the square. Nearly 300 martyrs shared the fate of Rogers, and even the dead were exhumed and burned.

The most famous of the sufferers were Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Latimer, now a very old man, had been, like Cranmer, one of the Cambridge reformers in the early part of the century. He took the King's side in the divorce case, and rose to be a bishop. Unlike Cranmer, he resigned his bishopric when the Act

Smithfield, with the Remains of St Bartholomew's once famous Church, 1554

of Six Articles was passed. His religious and social views were very like those of Sir Thomas More, except that Latimer approved of the Reformation. He took a prominent part in image-burning under Cromwell, and in his old age, renowned for character and eloquence, preached famous sermons at St Paul's Cross during the reign of Edward VI. Now his life-work was done, and, though the cause of which he had been a pioneer seemed to be a lost one, he never lost heart. He and Ridley were committed to the flames at Oxford, and Latimer cried out as the faggots were lighted :

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Cranmer recants

The end of Cranmer, who had annulled Henry's marriage with Mary's mother and crowned Anne Boleyn, now approached. Gentle and timid even in the prime of life, the old man unhappily tried to win pardon by recantations. He had the excuse that he sincerely believed in the sovereign's power to dictate to subjects what religion they should hold. On the other hand, for the primate of the English Church to veer round with every change of ruler looked suspiciously like cowardice or time-serving. Bribed by promises of pardon and advancement, Cranmer, the soul of the English Reformation, forswore the heresies which he had nourished throughout his life, and declared that all his public acts had been crimes, and that he was "most accursed of all whom the earth has ever borne." But Mary never had any intention of pardoning him.

Shilling of Mary

One wild, wet March day in 1556 Cranmer was led forth to suffer the death from which the bravest man might shrink. A service was held in St Mary's church before the ordeal, and after the sermon Cranmer addressed the people. The Government hoped that he would publicly confess his errors, but he disappointed them. In a touching speech he said that to save his life he had signed writings contrary to his convictions.

"And forasmuch," he cried, "as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, it shall be first burned."

He would have continued, but the Catholic bishop who had preached sprang to his feet and exclaimed:

"Stop the heretic's mouth."

Mary hears of the Fall of Calais

Cranmer was dragged from the church. His funeral pyre leaped high on the spot where Ridley and Latimer had suffered, and he, also, found the courage to die without a groan, first holding his offending hand steadily in the flames until it was consumed.

Moderate Catholics were as horror-stricken as the Protestants themselves at these burnings. England began to hate Rome, and there was nothing evil which later generations of English people would not ascribe to Roman Catholics. The hatred extended to Spain, for it was well known in England that, from 1555 to 1558, 30,000 heretics were burned, exiled or imprisoned by the Spanish Inquisition alone.

There were various plots against Mary in 1556, some of them aiming, as Wyatt's had done, at putting Elizabeth on the throne. Moreover, Philip caused Mary great unhappiness. He came very seldom to England, went to war with the Pope and was excommunicated. Plague and famine raged; the Exchequer was empty; and, besides taking English money for his wars, Philip insisted on England herself attacking France. Thomas Stafford, a grandson of the last Duke of Buckingham, landed with French troops and captured Scarborough in 1557. He was seized and executed, but his attempt showed English discontent and the danger from France.

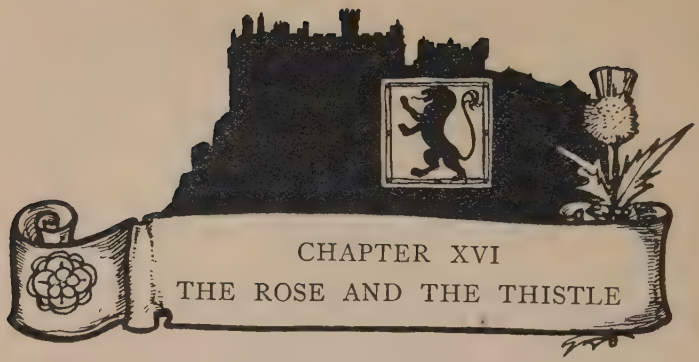
Philip undertook the management of English foreign affairs, but was false to his trust. He left Calais unprotected, with the result that the French took it by surprise in 1558. We had held Calais for over two hundred years, and Mary felt the shame of the loss so deeply that it broke her heart.

Already stricken by an incurable disease, she died in

the late autumn. One of her attendants, who knew that the Queen was afflicted by some great sorrow, said something to her about the King's neglect.

"Not only that," replied Mary, "but when I am dead and opened, you will find Calais lying upon my heart."

A Foot Soldier



CHAPTER XVI
THE ROSE AND THE THISTLE

FROM the time of the Norman Conquest of England the dearest ambition of English kings was to unite Scotland to England, while the greatest care of Scottish kings and people was to safeguard their national independence. William I did not even conquer the whole of England, but his sons drove the Scots back from Cumberland and established the permanent boundary between the two kingdoms. Afterwards the English and Scottish borders formed what were almost separate states under special laws. Whenever English armies went into Scotland or Scottish armies came into England the borders were burned and harried, with the result that only wild men lived there, planting no corn and depending for their subsistence on the cattle which they raised on the desolate hillsides. Their houses, thick towers like prisons, were surrounded by strong walls, into which they could drive their cattle when the enemy approached. Part of the borders was called the Debatable Land, because both England and Scotland claimed it, and it was the refuge of outlaws from each

Raiders on the Border

kingdom. These outlaws lived chiefly by cattle-lifting, and were the scourge of mankind. Sir Walter Scott sang the story of this lawless district in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.* The Scottish borderer tells of the coming of the English foe:

> "They crossed the Liddel at curfew hour,
> And burned my little lonely tower:
> The fiends receive their souls therefor!
> It had not been burnt this year and more."

James VI of Scotland was so distressed at the border system that he abolished the very name "borders" when he came to the throne of England.

Scotland proper was a wild country. Its kings were never able to make headway against the barons, and in the sixteenth century it resembled the condition of England in the reign of Stephen. The Highlands and Isles were practically without government, and the great Lowland nobles were continually at feud with each other. The Scots only united together when there was a danger to national independence from the "auld enemy," England. France always aided Scotland against England, and those two countries were firm friends throughout the Middle Ages. The most powerful English kings tried in vain to bring about the union of our island, but the task in which the sword and cunning failed was peacefully accomplished by the Reformation. When Scotland became a Calvinistic country, it was drawn into union with Protestant England against Catholic France. Also, fortunately for England, the French in the sixteenth century tried to rule Scotland as a French fief, and Scotland was driven into national opposition to France. Finally, when the two crowns were united, it was a satisfaction

to Scotland that a Scottish king sat upon the English throne.

Henry VII, as you will remember, married his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland, and they had a son, James V, who was two years of age when his father was slain at Flodden in 1513. Henry VIII tried to get possession of his little nephew and expected to have great influence in Scotland; but the Duke of Albany was appointed regent and adopted the old policy of friendship with France and enmity to England. As a friend of France, Albany led a large army into England when Henry VIII and France were at war, in 1522; but the disaster of Flodden was too recent for the Scots to attack with their usual spirit, and they were easily persuaded to retire.

Scotland was distracted by the quarrels of Albany's foes, all anxious to have the regency; and when James V grew old enough to rule himself he had to arm and go to war against the nobles. James V was a brave and wise ruler, but the task of reducing Scotland to order was too great for him. He angered his uncle, Henry VIII, by refusing to marry the Princess Mary, and Henry, in revenge, aided his rebellious subjects. The young monarch was true to the French alliance and married, first, a daughter of Francis I of France. After her death he married, in 1538, Mary of Guise, a noble and pious woman, but a member of the most ardently Catholic family in France, the chief enemies and persecutors of Huguenots. This was a fateful match in English and Scottish history. On her arrival Mary was presented with the "keys of Scotland" as a symbol of welcome, but she brought with her the keys of every evil to the house of Stuart.

The first Protestant heretic had been burned in Scotland in 1528. When James V took the government into his own hands, Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, wished him, it is said, to attaint of heresy three hundred and sixty barons and gentlemen. Henry VIII was anxious for him to introduce the Reformation, but James patriotically refused to take any suggestion that came from England, and became an even more loyal Catholic.

Henry was so angry at James's policy that he encouraged English raids on the Scottish border, and sent, in 1542, his chief general, the Duke of Norfolk, with 20,000 men to lay waste the Lothians. The unfortunate King of Scotland could get no help from his nobles, who disliked the good order which he was introducing into Scotland. Still, he gathered a small force, and, as in duty bound, sent it to return Norfolk's raid by laying Cumberland waste. The force was miserably inadequate, and the Scots were driven back headlong by the English and were nearly all swamped in the bogs of Solway Moss.

The defeat of Solway Moss broke the Scottish King's heart. In the preceding year his two infant sons had died, and now, when the news of the birth of his daughter Mary (afterwards the beautiful Queen of Scots) was brought to him, James cried out in his grief:

"It will end as it began. It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass."

A few hours later he died and a girl child of six days old succeeded to the stormy seat of the Stuarts.

Henry VIII at once felt a revival of the ambitions

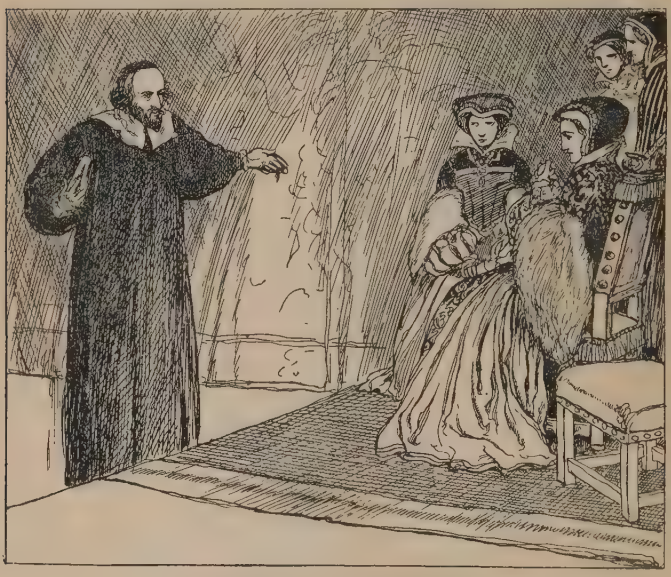
of all English kings. He and Protector Somerset tried hard to force the Scots to let Mary marry Edward VI, but they merely succeeded in frightening their neighbours. The result of carrying fire and sword into

"It will end as it began"

Scotland was that in 1548 Mary, now four years old, was sent for safety to France to be married to the Dauphin. With the Queen went four other Scottish children, also named Mary, to be her companions and afterwards ladies-in-waiting. Mary and "the Four Marys" were brought up in the French Court, the centre of the culture of the Renaissance, where the

Queen of Scots blossomed into the famous beauty whom her stern subjects afterwards harshly denounced as "Delilah."

Mary and the Dauphin were married in 1558, and in the following year the Dauphin became King of France as Francis II. Before their marriage Mary was per-

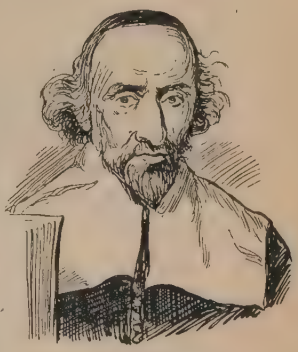


Knox admonishes the Queen of Scots

suaded by the Guises to make Francis a present of Scotland, but this the Scots did not yet know. Mary of Guise had obtained the regency of Scotland during her daughter's minority and very unwisely ruled Scotland in the French interest, giving the highest offices in Scotland to Frenchmen and protecting herself by French soldiers. The Scots began to look with

jealous eyes on France, their age-long friend, and they were completely estranged when, on the death of Francis, the Queen herself and her French favourites returned to Scotland.

The most dangerous enemy of Mary of Guise and her daughter in Scotland was the Calvinist, John Knox. Neither threats nor courtly blandishments could win over to their side the reformer over whose grave it was spoken: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man."



John Knox

The change of Scotland from a Catholic to a Presbyterian country was carried out with remarkable quickness. Supported by the Regent, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Cardinal Beaton, endeavoured to stamp out the new movement, but the independent Scots had no idea of being led tamely to the stake. The Cardinal was murdered in 1546, and the rebels seized the town and castle of St Andrews. John Knox became their preacher there, and for over a year the little Protestant republic stood at bay. When the castle was captured, in 1547, Knox and others were condemned to penal servitude as galley slaves, and Knox served his time until the accession of the pious Protestant, Edward VI, who probably begged for his release. Knox stayed in England until Mary succeeded Edward, when he fled to Geneva, where Calvin then reigned supreme. He became stern and harsh in character, like the great Frenchman, and soon won a foremost place among reformers. He paid a stealthy visit to Scotland and

established reformed churches. He penned warning letters to crowned heads, urging them to repent, and he darkly threatened Mary of Guise. Three countries, France, Scotland and England, were then ruled by ardent Catholic women, and Knox made up his mind that women ought not to have power. Therefore, in 1558, he wrote tracts which he named *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* Unfortunately for Knox, Elizabeth had succeeded to the English throne when the book appeared, and she never forgave him.

Mary of Guise was at last forced by the Scots to allow a certain amount of religious freedom, and Knox made up his mind to run the risk of reappearing openly in his native land. In 1559 he arrived in Edinburgh, "the heart of the battle," and under his leadership "popish" altars were at once thrown down and monasteries spoiled. Among his supporters was the Queen of Scots' half-brother, afterwards created Earl of Moray.

Scotland was now divided into two parties, that of the Regent, Mary of Guise, who relied on France, and that of the Lords of the Congregation. The Scottish reformers had signed their first "covenant" in 1557 and united in a "congregation of Jesus Christ." They looked towards England for help and demanded the English Prayer Book. The Lords of the Congregation hoped that the new English Queen, Elizabeth, would be a Protestant, and expected that she would be glad of a pretext for interfering in Scotland, especially as the Queen of Scots was laying claim to the throne of England. The Regent's partisans were growing day by day more ambitious. They hoped not only to secure Scotland for France, but to add England

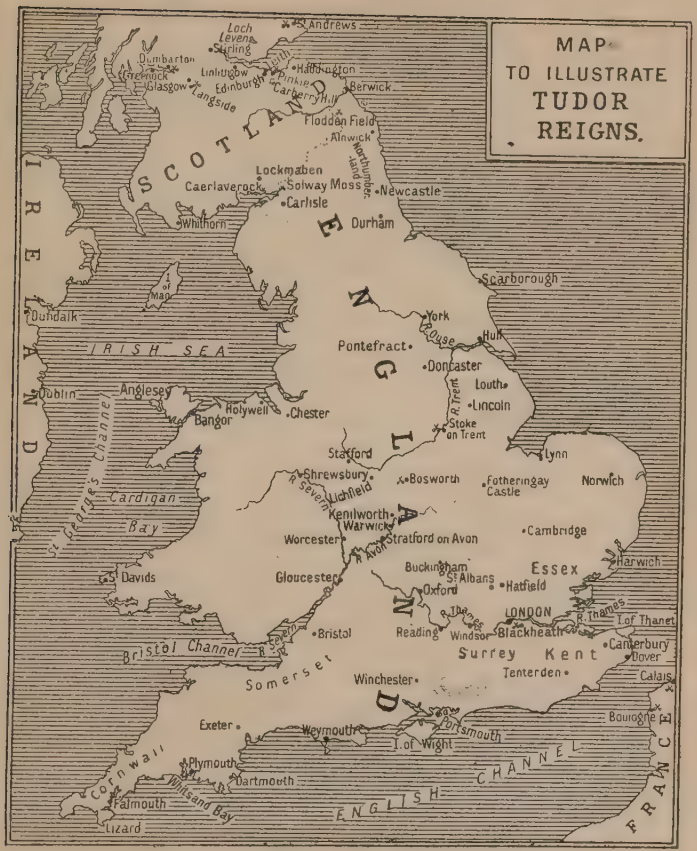
to the French empire. In order to win support in England the Queen of Scots afterwards laid emphasis on her orthodoxy, and tried to stir up the English Catholics who were discontented with Elizabeth's religious policy. They little dreamed how well they were playing at the dog who dropped his bone in the water while snapping at its shadow. Both parties now stood with their swords drawn, eagerly waiting to know what would be the policy of England.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England at the close of a war with France. Although we had lost Calais through giving aid to Philip II of Spain, he would not help us to recover it, and insisted on making peace with France. Elizabeth pretended in her pride that she would have liked to strike another blow for that "brightest jewel of the English crown," but was really glad to receive a money payment in its place. So a treaty was made at Cateau-Cambrésis early in 1559. Then she turned to meet the very serious danger from Scotland.

Crown of Queen Elizabeth

Mary Queen of Scots, still in France, claimed the throne of England as soon as she heard of her English namesake's death, and Elizabeth's ministers begged her to revenge herself by aiding the Lords of the Congregation against the Scottish Government. Elizabeth, however, decided for the moment to mind her own business. As a slight warning to the Queen of Scots, she sent some trifling help, but not enough to be of any use. As a queen she disliked aiding rebels, and she knew that she ought to avoid spending money

The Lords of the Congregation drove the French from all Scottish cities except Edinburgh and Leith, and a small English force assisted them to besiege Leith. The brave and stubborn Mary of Guise died during the siege, and her party was compelled to make the Treaty of Edinburgh with Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation in 1560. They agreed to recall nearly all the French troops from Scotland, to give no Scottish offices to Frenchmen, and to abandon Mary Stuart's claim to England. This, however, was far from being a settlement of the matter for either Scots or English, and the greatest trouble which Queen Elizabeth had to face during the first thirty years of her reign was to come from the young Scottish Queen who was now sailing across the North Sea to her native land.


MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE
TUDOR
REIGNS.
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
St Andrews
Loch Leven
Stirling
Dumbarton
Greenock
Glasgow
Linlithgow
Edinburgh
Haddington
Pinkie
Carberry Hill
Berwick
Langside
Flodden Field
Alnwick
Northumberland
Lockmaben
Solway Moss
Caerlaverock
Newcastle
Carlisle
Whithorn
Durham
Scarborough
York
Ouse
Hull
Pontefract
Doncaster
Trent
Louth
Lincoln
Stoke on Trent
Dundalk
Dublin
Anglesey
Holywell
Chester
Bangor
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Severn
Lichfield
Bosworth
Fotheringay Castle
Norwich
Lynn
Kenilworth
Warwick
Stratford on Avon
Cambridge
Worcester
Avon
Cardigan Bay
Davids
Gloucester
Buckingham
St Albans
Hatfield
Essex
Harwich
Oxford
Thames
LONDON
Reading
Windsor
Blackheath
Canterbury
Dover
Surrey
Kent
Tenterden
Calais
Bristol
Severn
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Exeter
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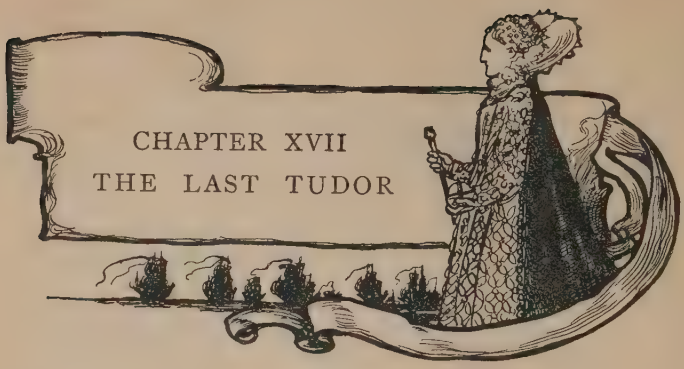


CHAPTER XVII
THE LAST TUDOR

ELIZABETH was quite justified in her displeasure at Knox's *Blast of the Trumpet.* She had already given proof of her cleverness, outwitting all the powerful enemies who would have gladly seized any excuse for putting her to death in her sister's reign. In her first year as queen she met wisely all the great questions which she had to face and restored the prosperity of England. By the advice of Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, she called in the debased money and replaced it by good, and saved and scraped to pay off Mary's debts, thus restoring the credit of the country. She repaired the coast fortifications, caused cannon and gunpowder to be made and stored, and enforced the attendance of every able-bodied man at the musters of the militia. The English ambassador at Paris said that she was already more feared and esteemed abroad than Mary had been, despite Mary's husband, the mighty King of Spain.

Elizabeth's character in many ways resembled that of her grandfather, Henry VII, and, as in his case,

a youth of adversity had matured her mind and given her the prudence of a statesman. Anne Boleyn's child had been carried proudly about the Court by her father, and received a princely establishment; and even after her mother fell into disgrace the little Elizabeth was carefully educated, sharing the studies of her brother and winning great praise from Roger Ascham. But the motherless child was entirely neglected by her father and hated by her only sister. From Mary's accession to the throne until her death, Elizabeth went about in fear for her life. After Wyatt's plot had been stamped out she was sent to the Tower, entering the Traitor's Gate, from which so few ever came forth except to make the journey of a few steps to the block on the green.

Sir Thomas Gresham

Her whole reign was a glorious example of a woman's capability. Elizabeth surrounded herself with wise councillors, but she was wiser than the wisest of them. They often grumbled at her prudent policy, as his Council had grumbled at that of Henry VII. War is always the heaviest of national expenses, and with the poverty of the country and the bitter lesson learned in Mary's time, it is strange that the Council should ever have pressed Elizabeth to send forth armies. Yet she was constantly beseeched by her statesmen to aid the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, the Huguenots in France or the persecuted Protestants of the Netherlands. But, as Henry VII had done, Elizabeth intrigued and maintained peace if possible, even when the proudest of her subjects

considered peace disgraceful. "No war, my lords, no war!" she cried ever at the council board. They ascribed her prudence entirely to her avarice, another trait in which she resembled Henry VII. Our ambassadors declared that she brought shame on the country by her meanness, and she very often let the most splendid services go unrewarded. But the result was that the treasury was again full, as it had been under her grandfather.

Elizabeth had her full share of human weaknesses. She was a very vain woman and had a great passion for dress. The royal wardrobe was of immense size, containing about a thousand dresses. She had a well-shaped, oval face, regular features, fine eyes like her mother's, and auburn hair. She was tall and stately, and possessed an unusually beautiful hand. She had the bold, blunt Tudor manner of speech, saying and doing exactly what she pleased, and she had the Tudor faculty for command. The Spanish ambassador wrote to Philip II, immediately after her accession: "She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister, and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did." She was extremely untruthful and noted for deception in a deceitful age. The deluded Spanish ambassador said again:

"I am astonished at the effrontery with which . . . she will say whatever is convenient for the moment. . . . After all, however, she is a woman and inconstant."

She loved Italian authors, and was a sovereign of whom the wise Machiavelli might have approved.

On her accession to the throne Elizabeth had to deal immediately with the religious question. The Protestants believed that the Queen, for whose mother's

sake England had been separated from Rome, would put herself at their head, crush the Catholics and establish a rule of the saints. The Catholics, on the other hand, had some reason to hope that Elizabeth would continue her sister's policy, become an ardent Catholic and burn the Protestants. She was only twenty-five years of age and a woman, and many people thought that her only chance of keeping her throne would be by the help of the Catholic country of Spain. French and Scottish armies might any day be expected to pour into England and unite England and Scotland to France. Philip II of Spain, Elizabeth's brother-in-law, was terrified at the thought of France becoming so powerful, and was eager to do all he could to help Elizabeth. Trusting that she would be as overwhelmed by the honour as her sister Mary had been, he sent her a proposal of marriage by his ambassador. When she firmly refused this offer, the King and statesmen of Spain imagined that she was too ignorant to understand the danger from France, or too conceited and foolhardy. Elizabeth, however, had realized that it was to Philip's interest to support her whatever she did.

It soon became clear that in religious matters Elizabeth intended to restore the "middle way" of her father. It is well known that she had studied statecraft in her solitary girlhood, and had talked much of her father's ways. She would not recognize the Pope's authority because, like her father, she wished to be supreme in England; and she intended to keep the Calvinists in their place because she disapproved of their democratic teaching. She loved to call the Protestant divines "brethren in

Christ," as Henry VII might have done in his mocking way.

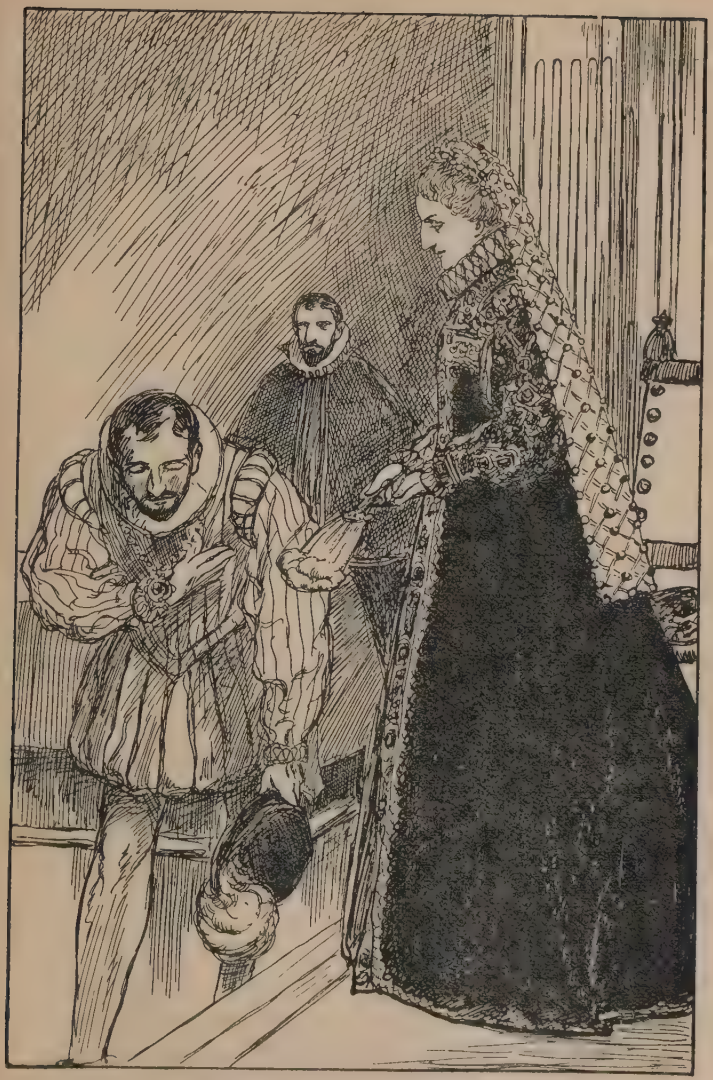
Far from being ignorant, Elizabeth was a better statesman than Philip himself. She took up again the Tudor mission which Edward VI and Mary had failed to understand. Her house had brought to an end the Wars of the Roses, and the last of the race was to save England from the wars of religion. In the true Tudor spirit she was to have no cause but the prosperity of her country. She was no mediæval knight-errant as her ministers wished her to be, but a very great peace-giver.

Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth had an unusual gift for choosing wise councillors. Three days after her accession she appointed, as her chief Secretary of State, William Cecil, afterwards the famous Lord Burghley. Cecil had obtained his knowledge of politics under Protector Somerset, and was an ardent Protestant but no fanatic. The new Queen addressed him as he took the oaths of office in words that showed her power of estimating character:

"This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State."

Cecil did remain faithful to the State, and was certainly the most influential of the Queen's advisers.



Queen Elizabeth and Burghley

"Burghley," it was said, "could do more with her in an hour than others in seven years." He was created Baron of Burghley in 1571, but Elizabeth gave little other recompense to his loyalty, and he once said bitterly that he was the poorest lord in England.

Another famous Elizabethan statesman was Sir Francis Walsingham. Like Cecil, he served the Queen with the utmost devotion, spending time and substance and receiving no return; but, unlike Cecil, he failed to understand the Queen's policy and worried sadly because he could never get her to remain firm on the Protestant side. There was an epidemic of assassination in Europe at that time, and Walsingham served Elizabeth as both watch-dog and blood-hound. The world was covered with his spies, and he ever lay listening for the footfalls of a murderer stealing near to his mistress. He unravelled the Ridolfi and Babington plots against the Queen and knew, it is said, every ship, man and barrel of gunpowder that the Spanish intended to send in the Armada of 1588. Frustrated by the Queen in his dearest schemes, Walsingham died broken-hearted in 1590.

Elizabeth treated her favourites better than her statesmen. She was a patron of explorers, scientists and men of letters, but the surest passports of a man to her generosity were good looks and wit. She had endangered her life when a princess by her flirtation with Admiral Seymour, and on her accession to the throne, on which her seat was anything but secure, she angered everybody in the country by a still more desperate flirtation with Lord Robert Dudley, son and grandson of an infamous man. It is another link between Henry VII and Elizabeth, that the descendant

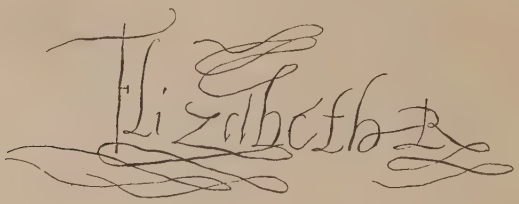
of his agent should have retained her favour from her accession until his death. She was charmed by his handsome face, grace and polished conversation.

The country in 1559 was full of stories of Dudley's neglect of his wife. He had married a young girl, Amy Robsart, nine years previously, and now evil tongues whispered that he sought her death so that he might marry the Queen. To the general horror Amy was found one day in 1560 with her neck broken, in the manor house at Cumnor in Berkshire. Scott made Amy the heroine of his story *Kenilworth*, but Amy never lived to see the Queen's revels at her husband's house. A trial was held and Dudley was exonerated, but people continued to believe him guilty, and the truth as to his wife's death has never been discovered. The suspicion of the murder made it impossible for him to marry the Queen, who might have been thought equally guilty. Elizabeth, however, stoutly asserted his innocence and continued to make him her most familiar friend. She created him Earl of Leicester in 1564, and, in spite of her general meanness, heaped wealth upon him. With courtiers and foreigners present she would cherish her "sweet Robin." Leicester's entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth Castle was of great magnificence.

Earl of Leicester

Many famous men, whose names you know well, made the Court of Queen Elizabeth illustrious. Sir Philip Sidney, who perished at Zutphen, giving his

glass of water to a wounded comrade; Sir Walter Raleigh, who threw his fine cloak in the mire for the Queen to tread on; Sir Christopher Hatton, and many other brilliant "Elizabethans" were high in her favour, although none of them ever approached Leicester in her affection.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE PURITANS

THE eyes of the world were turned on Elizabeth at her accession, as we have seen, for everyone was eagerly waiting to know what her attitude toward religion would be. As she favoured the Catholics at one moment and the Protestants at the next, both parties were peaceful for a long time, as each hoped to win her. Her first Parliament was bidden to avoid religious quarrelling and the abusing of each other as "papists" or "heretics" respectively, for the Government intended to suppress the "idolatry" of Catholics and the "irreverence" of Protestants.

To the dismay of Spain and the Catholics, England was again severed from Rome. The Queen exchanged the offensive title of "supreme head" of the Church for that of "supreme governor," but the new name meant the same thing as the old: the Pope was to have no authority over the English Church and no revenue from this realm. Elizabeth alarmed the Protestants by attending mass for a while, but she at once restored the English service in the churches.

As she rode through London to her coronation she kissed and placed on her heart an English Bible which was presented to her.

Met by the abbot and monks of Westminster, carrying tapers, as she went to her first parliament, she bade them,

"Away with these torches! we can see well enough!"

The Prayer Book of Edward VI was slightly altered,

"Away with these torches!"

and the Act of Uniformity was passed (1559), to enforce its use. Elizabeth's England was, however, very different from that of Henry VIII. A new spirit had descended on the world, and the Catholics were now prepared to suffer for their faith, whatever might be the penalty. It was a fortunate thing for them that Elizabeth was not inclined to burn. For eleven

years of her reign no one was called on to suffer death for religion.

Nearly all the Marian bishops refused to take the oath recognizing Elizabeth as "Supreme Governor," and were deprived. Pole died a few hours after Mary, and Matthew Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury in his place. Parker was a reformer. He had been a friend of Cranmer and Latimer at Cambridge, done good service to the Reformation, and hidden during Mary's reign. Elizabeth's choice of him for Primate was almost as wise as her selection of Cecil for Secretary, as he never pushed her to extreme measures. He vainly begged her to allow the marriage of the clergy. All the reformers were united on this point, but Elizabeth disliked it more than any other Lutheran or Calvinistic usage. Fond as she was of Parker, she would never recognize the Archbishop's helpmate and, after an entertainment at Lambeth, made this ungracious parting speech to Mrs Parker:

"Madam I may not call you, and mistress I am ashamed to call you; nevertheless I thank you for your hospitality."

Again, when the Dean of St Paul's was preaching to a vast congregation against images in churches, Elizabeth's loud voice rang forth from the royal box:

"To your text, Mr Dean! To your text! Leave that! We have heard enough of that. To your subject!"

Another burning question was the subject of clerical costume. The Calvinists abhorred the surplice and square cap of the priesthood, and although Parker simplified clerical dress he could not abolish these. The result was that he was dubbed the "pope of

Lambeth," and persecuted by the Puritan mob of London. He might very well complain that he had both sun and moon against him.

The result of Elizabeth's "middle way," besides the peace it secured, was that many Catholics fled from the realm and many Protestants began to meet secretly in conventicles. This was the beginning of Protestant "dissent." The House of Commons had already become deeply Puritan, and the way was prepared for the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century. Large numbers of people in the country not only thought that altars, crosses and priestly garments were papistical, but condemned the ringing of church bells and the act of kneeling to receive the Sacrament. Parker repressed the Puritans until his death in 1575, but they steadily increased in strength. The most important were called "Brownists": following Robert Brown, they sought to abolish bishops. They incurred the wrath of the Queen, who ordered their suppression.

Edmund Grindal, who deeply sympathized with the extremer reformers, was made archbishop after Parker. His appointment was due to Cecil, who wished the Queen to be a firmer Protestant than she was, and it was an unfortunate one. Elizabeth at this time was anxiously expecting a Catholic invasion, and, to avert it, was holding out to Catholics golden hopes of her conversion. Therefore, although Cecil and Parliament remonstrated, she suspended the new Archbishop and only restored him when he agreed to put down popular preaching. When he died, in 1583, the Queen appointed a divine who took up a new position and greatly strengthened the Anglican Church.

Archbishop Whitgift, a very rich man, a courtier and

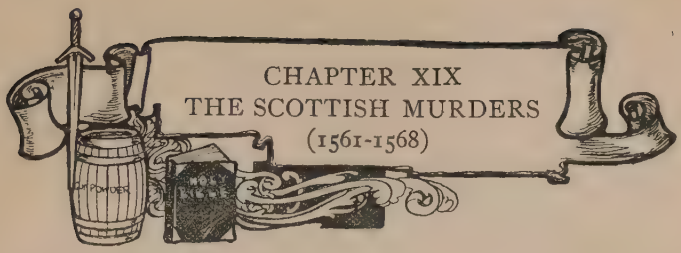
a statesman, recovered the respect of the nation for the Anglican bishops. In his magnificence he recalled Wolsey. He was an ardent Protestant, and in some of his views a Calvinist, but he was deeply opposed to the democratic freedom of thought of the Calvinists. Like Henry VIII and Elizabeth, he thought them irreverent, and his first sermon as Archbishop at St Paul's Cathedral was on the "text," "Ranters shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven."

It was probably owing to his strong character and great gift for rule that the danger threatening the bishops passed away. His masterfulness at first terrified the Brownists into silence. He forbade laymen to preach, and removed every clergyman who would not accept the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles. But his most tyrannical act was to gag the Press. By a decree of the Court of Star Chamber no book might be printed without the assent of the Archbishop or the Bishop of London. He roused the bitter hatred of the Puritans, and tracts signed "Martin Mar-prelate" were secretly printed, full of abuse of the splendid Archbishop. The Puritans were merely hounds barking at the lion: the writers of the tracts could not be discovered, but several Brownists who were suspected were arrested and one of them was hanged. Parliament, at Whitgift's instigation, decreed the exile of all who refused to attend the services of the Established Church and all who worshipped secretly in their own way. The Act of Uniformity had not, so far, been vigorously enforced, but Whitgift set up a new court as terrible as the Spanish Inquisition, except that it had no power to rack or burn. This court was called the Court of High Commission, because it was the

Commission to which the Queen delegated her supremacy over the Church. It became, under Charles I, as odious as the Court of Star Chamber. Numerous Puritans fled abroad and waited until the end of Elizabeth's reign, when they returned in large numbers and ultimately overthrew the throne of the Stuarts.

We shall see, later, more of Queen Elizabeth's dealings with the Roman Catholics.

London Watchman : Time of Elizabeth



CHAPTER XIX
THE SCOTTISH MURDERS
(1561-1568)

LITTLE value was set on human life in the sixteenth century, and people in high positions often committed crime with impunity. The most licentious, although the most civilized, society in Europe was that of France, in whose Court Mary Stuart had passed her most impressionable years; and the Queen and her four Marys, who now returned with her to the bleak and desolate shores of Scotland, had learned to look with a light heart on the worst wickedness.

Chastelard the poet sat beside the eighteen-year-old Queen, as they sailed from France to the land of rain and mist, and sang the gay ditties of the French Renaissance to the accompaniment of his lute. Nothing lay before them but the blackest tragedy, and Chastelard least of all had cause to sing. Mary Stuart wept bitterly as she left the fair land of France; she may have retained childish memories of the dark northern island.

She did her best to turn Scotland into France, but lost her life in doing so. She intended to crush out the Reformation in Scotland, but all her powers of fascination were required to win toleration for herself. Those powers were great: one after another the

Calvinistic nobles rode like angry lions into Edinburgh, and one after another left Holyrood Palace like lambs. Campbell of Kingsancleuch said to the last arrival:

"I have been here five days, and at the first I heard every man say, 'Let us hang the priest!' But after they had been twice or thrice at the Abbey all that fervency was past. I think there is some enchantment whereby men are bewitched."

Knox alone was proof against her beauty and charm. He found one mass "more fearful" than "ten thousand armed enemies," and said harshly:

"If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."

The English ambassador formed the same opinion. "Whatever policy," he wrote, "is in all the chief and best-practised heads in France, whatever craft, falsehood or deceit is in all the subtle brains of Scotland, is either fresh in this woman's memory or she can fetch it with a wet finger."

Mary had been led to believe in France that Queen Elizabeth was in a very hazardous position, and, until the day of her death, never gave up hope of supplanting her less-favoured kinswoman. She tried in vain to make Elizabeth recognize her as next heir to the English throne, if Elizabeth died childless; but Elizabeth always firmly refused. The most loyal Englishmen wished the Queen to nominate her successor, as the memory of the Wars of the Roses had not yet died away; but again Elizabeth was wiser than her councillors. She dreaded that, directly she had named Mary as her heir, she herself would be despatched by the hand of an assassin. She always said,

Mary's Departure from France

when her subjects made such a demand, that she was not going to hang a winding sheet before her eyes.

In the life-and-death struggle between the two queens each was severely handicapped. Mary had no scruple in intriguing with the English to rise against Elizabeth, but Elizabeth had very strong objections to assisting the Scots against Mary. It was a point of honour as well as of policy with Elizabeth not to countenance rebellions of subjects against their prince. When the Lords of the Congregation were revolted by the crimes of Mary they constantly appealed for aid to Elizabeth, and if the English Queen had been utterly unscrupulous she could very early have rid herself of the Queen of Scots. She was not so quixotic as to wash her hands of the matter, but gave very little help to the Lords. She merely wished Mary to be so much occupied at home that she would be unable to stir up disorder across the border. Mary was certainly very well occupied at home.

With Tudor blood in her veins, Mary pleased the people with her frank speech, open manners and unconventionality. She was the best dancer, huntsman and rider in Scotland. She longed to be a man, she said, "to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields or to walk on the causeway with . . . a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." But it was not long before this deeply serious nation became offended at her lack of moral interest. Her behaviour after the Huguenot massacre at Vassy in 1561 dealt a hard blow to the affection of the Calvinists. She rejoiced openly, and gave a ball at Holyrood. An Edinburgh preacher exclaimed that "she was dancing like the Philistines, for the pleasure taken in the displeasure of God's people."

Still, the peace was kept on the whole until Mary's marriage with Lord Darnley in 1565. Elizabeth had shut up in the Tower Lady Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane, as this young woman had a good claim to succeed her and was the favourite of the Protestants. The Catholic candidate, after Mary herself, was Lord Darnley, the grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage. Mary thought that by marrying Darnley she would strengthen her claim to the throne of England and her hold on the English Catholics. Elizabeth strongly opposed the marriage, and the Lords of the Congregation, except such as were related to Darnley, strove their utmost to prevent it. The marriage was therefore performed in haste, and Mary took arms successfully against her half-brother, the Earl of Moray.

Darnley, who was proclaimed King of Scotland on the eve of his marriage, was a youth of twenty years of age, childish, weak, overbearing and vicious. The Queen had married him merely for political reasons, and they were very unhappy together in a very short time. Mary's Italian secretary, David Rizzio, had more power in the realm than the so-called King, and excited the jealousy of both Darnley and the nobles. When Mary prepared to make Rizzio Chancellor and attaint the Protestant Lords, a plot was formed for the murder of the favourite. Early in 1566 Darnley and the Lords burst into the room where Mary, some of the Stuarts and Rizzio were supping, dragged the terrified Italian from the room and, all plunging their daggers into him, left him dead with sixty wounds. Abandoned for the night, in solitude and a prisoner, Mary Stuart menaced Darnley, as he departed, with these words:

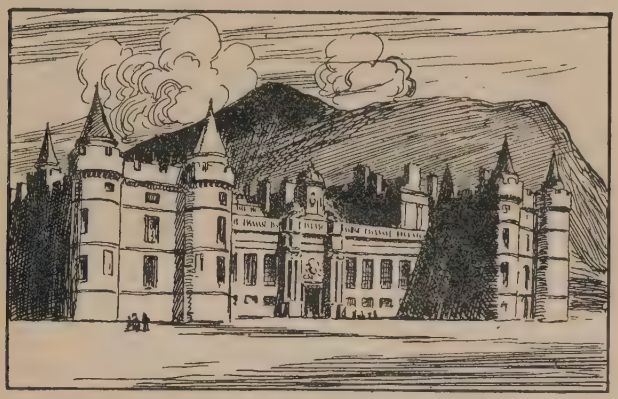
"Well, you have taken your last of me and your farewell; I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."

Before morning dawned, however, Mary had made up her mind to conceal her anger and work craftily for her revenge. She easily won the weak Darnley back to her side, escaped from Holyrood by an underground passage and once more defeated the attempts of the Lords of the Congregation.

A few months later Mary's son, the future James VI, was born, to the great joy of Scotland; and the flame of Mary's popularity shot up again, but again she let her passions spoil her prospects. She had never forgotten nor forgiven Rizzio's murder, silent though she might be on the subject. When Darnley had fulfilled his purpose she again shook him off, and he very soon fell ill. Mary then turned towards the Lords of the Congregation and begged their aid to rid her of her burdensome husband. The Lords were so angry with Darnley for deserting them after the Holyrood murder that they were as eager as Mary to be avenged on him. The poor boy, only now twenty-one, was shunned and hated by every man in Scotland, and attempts were made to poison him. At last a plan was adopted which gave a terrible notoriety to the murder. Mary had fallen under the influence of the berserker border noble, the Earl of Bothwell, who carried it out. It has never been absolutely proved that Mary plotted with Bothwell for the murder, but when she was afterwards tried the Lords of the Congregation produced letters from her to Bothwell; they were found in a silver casket belonging to the Earl and are famous as the Casket Letters. If these letters were genuine, and

they were so to all appearances, Mary Stuart was guilty; but her supporters firmly asserted that these letters were forged.

Other evidence was against Mary. She fetched Darnley, still ill, in a litter from Glasgow to Edinburgh



Holyrood Palace

early in 1567, and placed him in a lodging at Kirk-o'-Field. She stayed with him until late in the evening and then, rising, said that she was due at a ball at Holyrood. When she got to the door she turned back and said threateningly:

"It was just this time last year that Rizzio was slain!"

Terrified by these words, the unfortunate Darnley seems to have escaped from the house and been caught and strangled by Bothwell, who was waiting outside. His body was found the next morning under the town wall near by, while the house in which Mary Stuart had placed him had been blown up by gunpowder and lay a mass of stones, mortar and corpses.

Mary might, in those wild times, have lived down this terrible crime. She was the mother of the future king, and Darnley had been an object of universal scorn. But she proceeded to do what, innocent or guilty, made her for ever odious to the Scottish people: she married her husband's murderer. After a mock trial, Bothwell was acquitted of the murder, and, as even Mary shrank from openly wedding him, he carried her off by force. Everybody believed that Mary had arranged her own kidnapping, and again she is condemned by the Casket Letters. Shrieked and jeered at by rough and irreverent Edinburgh women, and menaced by the Lords of the Congregation, Mary escaped from the city in men's clothes, fled to Dunbar and there borrowed a dress such as the common women of Edinburgh wore. Its red skirt only reached to her knees, as she was very tall, but the dignity of the Queen of Scots always rose equal to the occasion. Bothwell collected an army of desperate borderers, but he was defeated at the battle of Carberry Hill (1567), and Mary was captured by the Lords. She was offered forgiveness if she would divorce Bothwell, but she firmly refused, and was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, and forced to abdicate in favour of her little son James. Her half-brother, the Earl of Moray, was appointed Regent of the realm.

Mary contrived to be quite gay in Lochleven Castle, bearing resignedly her rigorous confinement in a narrow, mediæval tower, and never losing hope of aid from France, Spain, or even from England. At last, after many vain efforts, she managed to escape, having won to her side the younger brother of the Laird of Lochleven. The escape had been skilfully planned, and friends

were waiting to receive the Queen. With the Douglases and Hamiltons behind her, she set forth for her last battle on Scottish soil. Defeated at the decisive battle of Langside (1568), she rode wildly for her life to the Solway, sixty miles away, feeding on oatcake and

Lochleven Castle

sleeping on the ground, and embarked in a fisher boat for the coast of Cumberland. She was received into Carlisle Castle by the Warden of the Marches and sent messengers to beg help from the enemy of rebels, Elizabeth.

Lord Darnley

CHAPTER XX
THE CAPTIVE QUEEN
(1568-1587)

ELIZABETH was placed, by Mary's flight, in a very difficult position, and wrote to tell her that until her character was cleared she could not be received at Court. Elizabeth said that a trial should be held and no doubt Mary would be completely exonerated. Mary, who was bitterly disappointed, replied that a queen could not consent to be tried, and begged Elizabeth to let her depart in safety from the realm. This, however, Elizabeth would not do. Mary had come to the realm without a passport and now found herself a prisoner, and was to remain a prisoner for nineteen long years. Her captivity was far from being a rigorous one. She was kept in the country houses of different nobles, and allowed great luxury and state.

The trial of an anointed queen was almost as repellent to Elizabeth as to Mary, but she could not afford to lose the opportunity given her by Mary's flight. She read the Casket Letters, but promised Mary to save her from public exposure if she would abandon

all claim to rule Scotland as Queen, and send James VI to be brought up in England as heir to the two crowns. Such an agreement would, however, have been a confession by Mary of her guilt, and she indignantly refused. She began, indeed, to entertain high hope not only of recovering Scotland, but of driving Elizabeth from her throne.

From Carlisle, where she had been received loyally and royally by the faithful Catholic population, she was sent to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, the nursery of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The population of the north of England still clung to the old faith and would sometimes destroy the new communion-tables and set up again the altars and the mass. Catholics had fled from Scotland and settled here. The reforming Bishop of Carlisle was so unpopular that Elizabeth had to allow him a bodyguard; and when Elizabeth began to suppress the Catholics, the Yorkshire coast, where Catholicism is still strong, became the most important stronghold of that religion. Grosmont Abbey, near Whitby, received foreign priests who intrigued with the people, and lived in houses possessing secret passages by which they could escape. Counting on large armies to be sent from France and Spain, as Elizabeth had been steadily offending Spain for many years, Mary bided her time and won many friends among the lords and gentlemen of the north.

The year 1569 was the crisis of Elizabeth's reign. The nobility attacked the upstart Cecil and demanded a share in the government of the realm. They nearly all, including the favourite, Leicester, insisted that the Queen of Scots should be married to the Duke of Norfolk, and that Elizabeth should

agree to recognize Mary as heir to the throne, as they had given up all hope of Elizabeth marrying. Elizabeth at once threw Norfolk into the Tower. The Catholic gentry and commons of the north, who had been expecting aid from Norfolk, determined to wait no longer, and rose under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. This revolt is known as the Rising of the Earls, or the Northern Rebellion.

The rebels seized Durham and Hartlepool, destroyed English Bibles, Prayer Books and communion-tables, restored the mass, and rode south towards Tutbury, whither the Queen of Scots had been removed, in order to liberate her. They were finally forced to disperse, as they met with no support farther south, and so the greatest danger that Elizabeth ever had to face passed over. The rising was severely punished and made to turn to the advantage of the Queen's exchequer. All the rebels who had lands to lose were attainted, and nearly every village in the north was terrified by the spectacle of a rebel, often the local magnate, swinging from a tree. Another northern rising took place in 1570 but was promptly put down. Bitterly disappointed, Mary was cheered early in 1570 by the news of the assassination of her half-brother, the Earl of Moray. She wrote to promise a pension to the murderer, but if she hoped that the Scottish lords would now recall her she was mistaken. Moray had been dear to them, and they were even more embittered against her.

Elizabeth was now secure from open rebellion, but Mary Queen of Scots brought bloodshed and disaster to England as she had done to Scotland. The Pope

published a bull in 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance and forbidding them to obey her.

The Catholics had become a great danger, as a moral reformation had begun in their ranks and made the Roman Catholic Church as strong in Roman Catholic countries as Calvinism was in Calvinistic countries. This movement is known as the Counter-Reformation. An international association called the Society of Jesus, as devoted as any of the religious orders of the Middle Ages, sprang up. It was founded by a noble Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, who had been disabled in war. As he could no longer fight in the battles of his King, he determined to become a knight of the Cross. He and his followers, the Jesuits, took the threefold monastic vow, scourged and mortified themselves, and formed an army of spiritual soldiers blindly obedient to the Pope. They were a heroic band of men, and their deeds will ever be remembered in the Roman Catholic Church, but they formed an extreme danger to every nation in Europe. Death was no terror to them, and, in every disguise, in every country, they plotted for the restoration of Catholicism or, if the country was already Catholic, spied out and denounced heretics. The most formidable of these missionaries now began to plot and scheme in England.

Ignatius Loyola,
Founder of the Society of Jesus

Elizabeth answered the Pope's bull of excommunication by making the laws against Papists more severe,

and, before the arrival of the Jesuits, Ridolfi's plot broke out in England.

The Queen had been compelled to release the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, as he had offended against no law in proposing to marry the Queen of Scots; but the head of the house of Howard had learned no lesson from his captivity. Mary again laid her fatal fascination on him, and he listened to the schemes of the Italian conspirator, Ridolfi. Ridolfi crept about Europe, going from one crowned head to another; and the Pope, Philip of Spain, the Duke of Alva (Spain's Governor of the Netherlands), Mary Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk fell in with his schemes for assassinating the Queen and conquering England by foreign Catholic armies, marrying Mary to Norfolk and placing her on the throne. The plot was discovered in 1571. This time the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the block, while Parliament clamoured for the execution of the Queen of Scots also. There was never again any idea in the English Parliament of placing Mary Queen of Scots on the throne.

Norfolk was the only surviving English duke, and with his fall the submission of the old feudal houses to the Crown, commenced by Henry VII, was finally completed.

Cecil pressed Elizabeth to make a league with foreign Protestants against the Catholics, and Walsingham, who was now coming to the front, wrote letters of prayer and entreaty from Paris, while the trading classes of England and an ever-widening circle of her subjects entertained a deep detestation of Catholicism and Catholic countries. The Huguenots were treacherously murdered by the French Government at

the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572, a crime which Lord Burghley said was the most horrible committed since the Crucifixion, and the English Queen and her Court went into mourning; but Elizabeth was true to her peace policy and would not aid in a crusade against France as her Protestant subjects wished her to do. The nation was quiet and loyal, and everywhere round her in her own little country was peace and prosperity. These things it was her duty to give to the country, and these she gave. Some of the great pageants of her reign took place at this time, and it was in 1575 that she was entertained by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth.

Entrance to the Great Hall, Kenilworth

Risking the anger of her subjects, she revived a former idea of her own of marrying the youngest son of Catherine de' Medici, the instigator of the St Bartholomew massacre. The marriage was denounced in the pulpit and the streets, and the usually merciful Queen made a terrible example. One John Stubbs, who wrote a pamphlet against the sinful marriage, and the printers of the same, had their right hands cut off.

Elizabeth was by this time worshipped in England, and Stubbs, as he was being conveyed to the Tower, raised his maimed arm, crying:

"Long live the Queen!"

The Council submitted, and said that they would die at her feet rather than offend her.

Elizabeth was now in her middle age and the Duke of Anjou, her French suitor, not much more than twenty. He was a most unromantic figure, of low stature, plain features and pitted face, but Elizabeth for ten long years encouraged his courtship and flirted with him in a way that would have been foolish if it had not been so clever. She would publicly fondle him and call him her frog. She did not intend to marry him, but wished to persuade the French that she did, so that they might not aid Mary Stuart against her. She found it very difficult in the end to get out of the marriage, but at last said that she could not marry anyone who differed from her in religion. After she had finally dismissed her last suitor she missed him and told her courtiers that she wished her "dear frog should again be swimming in the Thames."

Elizabeth, who had been more tolerant than anybody at that time thought to be wise, found it necessary when the Counter-Reformation started in England to rid her realm of Roman Catholics. Between 1575 and her death in 1603, 187 of her Catholic subjects were put to death as traitors. Among their number was the dangerous plotter Campion. Campion and Parsons, Englishmen who had joined the Society of Jesus, were the first missionaries of this new order to be sent to England, and Elizabeth could not feel safe on her throne while they were in the realm. Parsons fled

abroad to intrigue with Philip of Spain against his own Queen and Government. It was fatal to Roman Catholicism in England that its influence was anti-national.

The moment now began to draw near for the proposed Catholic invasion of this heretical kingdom, and a Catholic League was formed in 1585. Assassination was also to be tried, and the Queen of Scots' friends congratulated her on being in England, as she would thus have no difficulty in mounting the throne after Elizabeth was disposed of. Everybody by this time had forgotten Darnley, and Mary's friends had come to regard her as a saint whose sufferings were due to her faith. But Mary's account of murder was already made up and the beautiful ill-fated woman had very few years left her in which to plot evil.

Francis Throckmorton, stirred up by the Jesuits, began to intrigue with the Spanish ambassador and Mary. He was executed in 1584, and the Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave the country.

Elizabeth was a stranger to physical fear, but she had good reason to be severe with traitors. William, Prince of Orange, the hero of all Protestants, was murdered in 1584 by order of Philip II, and Parliament in this year gave its authorization to a voluntary Association which had been formed to defend Elizabeth. The same Parliament, in its zeal for the Queen, declared that no one for whose sake she was murdered should succeed to the throne, and banished all Jesuits.

Leicester was allowed by the Queen to accept the post of Governor-General of the United Provinces and to take an army over to the Netherlands in aid of the fellow-countrymen of William of Orange. Because of

the expense, however, Elizabeth gave very little help. Among the band who went out under Leicester was his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney. The soldier-poet fell before the walls of Zutphen in 1586, and Leicester returned in the following year.

Walsingham had already begun to be uneasy at certain new signs seen by his keen eyes among the friends of the Queen of Scots, and speedily discovered that a fresh plot was on foot. Eagerly patriotic and devoted to Elizabeth, he had for long been seeking a way to destroy the Scottish Queen, and now it seemed that Fate had put the power into his hand. His spies discovered that a Catholic priest, John Ballard, had stirred up a conspiracy which was afterwards known as Babington's plot. Anthony Babington and five others agreed to this latest scheme for assassinating Elizabeth. Philip II gave them money and urged them to murder Elizabeth's Privy Council as well! They wrote and schemed, little thinking that all their letters passed through Walsingham's hands and that the wily statesman knew their secret cipher. With great imprudence Mary wrote in her own hand to Babington, and the overjoyed Walsingham pounced on his prey. Both Houses of Parliament demanded the Queen of Scots' execution and Elizabeth was at last obliged to give way, although she found it almost impossible to agree to such an end for a sacred sovereign. She signed death-warrant after death-warrant, only to recall it immediately, until at last the Lords of the Council decided to give her no time to change her mind. They sent the warrant in haste to Fotheringhay Castle, where Mary was now immured, and on 8th February 1587 the head of the Queen of Scots fell on the block. Bonfires

The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots

blazed in London and the country round, because Elizabeth's great enemy had fallen ; but Mary won new admiration by her death. Everyone who had ever befriended her, her attendants and the little dogs which she had cherished, were remembered in her last hours, and it seemed that she herself was glad to leave the world in which she had played so prominent and disastrous a part.

Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth

CHAPTER XXI
THE ARMADA, 1588

ELIZABETH, besides her private unwillingness to have the Queen of Scots executed, had foreseen that it would bring about her ears all the Catholics of Europe, and perhaps James VI of Scotland, now grown up to manhood. She therefore disclaimed all responsibility for the fact, and threw into prison the secretary who had taken the warrant. By decree of the Star Chamber he was fined £10,000, but this cruel deed failed to avert the catastrophe. James VI had never cared for his mother and was unwilling to invade the country over which he hoped one day to rule; the King of France was sufficiently occupied with the revolts of his own subjects; but Spain was free to act, and, indeed, the cup of Spain's grievances against England was overflowing. English interference in the Netherlands and the New World was the chief cause of the Spanish Armada.

Henry VII of England had given aid to the Cabots in their journey to North America, but it was quite impossible for England at that time to establish colonies as the Spanish did. In Elizabeth's reign, when

English people first began to feel the colonizing instinct, they found that Spain was in the way. The Pope, in 1493, had granted all newly discovered lands in the west to Spain, and all newly discovered lands in the east to Portugal. Nothing was left for England, Holland or France. Spain would allow no other nations to trade with her colonies, and for a long while English sailors turned longing eyes on the heavily laden Spanish galleons bearing the wealth of the Incas from South America to Spain. Kept by Spain from the west, they had to face the peril of the Turk in the east. John Fox, the gunner of the *Three Half Moons*, wrote a history of his voyage, which is full of the spirit of the Elizabethan mariner. When eight galleys of Turks hove in sight the owner of the *Three Half Moons* reminded the crew "that God was their God and not their enemy's," putting them also in mind of "the old and ancient worthiness of their countrymen, who in the hardest extremities have always most prevailed."

In the end Elizabeth succeeded in making commercial treaties with both Turkey and Persia. Our countrymen explored the shores of Russia and established the Muscovy Company, but at last determined not to neglect the profit to be found in illegal trading with Spanish colonies. They ran a fearful risk, as not only did they subject themselves to treatment as pirates, but, as heretics, ran into danger of the Spanish Inquisition. The sufferings undergone by these sailors made the seafaring population bigotedly Protestant and roused a spirit which was in the end to bring low the pride of Spain.

Robert Tomson, an English merchant in Spain, tells us how in 1544 he watched the richly stored ships from the West Indies unlade in the harbour of Seville and

determined to sail in a Spanish ship to the land of untold wealth. He was curiously questioned by the crew as to "whether it were true that in England they had overthrown all the churches and houses of religion, and that all the images of the saints of heaven that were in them were thrown down and broken and burned, and that they in some places stoned highways with them; and that they denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome?" On their arrival in Mexico he was denounced to the bishop. People flocked from all parts "to see what a Lutheran was like." He was sent fettered to Spain, and remainedf or three years a prisoner of the Inquisition.

Where heretic Englishmen were also pirates their fate was much more severe. Mary tried to prevent their robberies, but they were encouraged by Elizabeth, and numberless English subjects were captured and suffered rack and fire in Spain. They themselves did dark deeds enough; Spanish ships were scuttled and left to sink, while the Elizabethan sea-dogs sailed away with their booty to the Cornish and Devonshire coasts. Famous among these pirates were the Hawkinses of Plymouth. Sir John Hawkins was the first Englishman to dare to enter the Gulf of Mexico, the entrance to which was kept a dead secret by the Spaniards. The English had no maps or charts to guide them, but boldly seized Spaniards whom they forced to act as pilots.

Elizabeth and her Council, despite the remonstrances of Spain, protected Hawkins and shared in his takings. Two Government warships convoyed his third mercantile

venture in 1567, and in one of his ships Sir Francis Drake sailed. They realized £100, 000, but never got it home. Spanish warships beset them, massacred their crews and seized their treasure. By a miracle the bold leaders escaped and after terrible hardships reached home.

Sir Francis Drake, one of the greatest sailors who ever lived, first comes to the front in this voyage. He was an ardent Protestant and proved such a bitter enemy of Spain that Spaniards often thought he must have some private grudge against them. Drake's adventures were many and wonderful. He was the first Englishman to see the Pacific, and the first Englishman to sail round the world. Hawkins' third disastrous voyage had deeply cast down the men of the west country, and when Drake returned home, his ships laden with Spanish treasure, one Sunday in 1573, all the congregation in Plymouth left the church, deserting the preacher for the quay. To friends and kinsfolk Drake related how he had climbed a tree on the Isthmus of Panama and gazed over the new-found ocean of the Pacific.

Drake
(From a Contemporary Print)

In December 1577 Drake sailed again from Plymouth and in the *Golden Hind* passed through the Straits of Magellan and across the Pacific and came back by the Cape of Good Hope, arriving in England in September 1580. Throughout the voyage Drake had plundered the Spaniards, amassing so much treasure that often, it is said, it had to be thrown overboard. He brought back nearly a million pounds worth and

was at once knighted by the Queen at a banquet on the Thames on board the *Golden Hind*. With the danger of a Catholic invasion, Elizabeth encouraged her bold sailors in every possible way. Like her father she fostered the navy, and during her reign the axe was busy in the forest and great ships of a new, swift-sailing kind rose in the ports.

Frobisher made three voyages, 1576-1578, trying to find a north-west passage to Cathay, and discovered the Esquimaux; and John Davis followed him up the Greenland coast. Sir Humphry Gilbert sailed in 1583, and planted the first English colony in Newfoundland. Gilbert met his death on his return journey. It was he who made the well-known speech to his crew as his vessel sank: "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!" His schemes were taken up by Sir Walter Raleigh, who sought to establish in America a colony on land where he had planted the English flag. This land the virgin Queen graciously named Virginia after herself.

In 1585 Philip II started open war by seizing all English ships in Spanish harbours, but England was now ready to meet him. In 1585 and 1586 Drake and Frobisher ravaged the Spanish colonies, even capturing and destroying Spanish towns in the New World, as acts of revenge for Spanish treatment of heretics. In 1587 Drake sailed for Spain itself and destroyed thirty-three large Spanish ships in harbour. This is what he called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." For the first time foreign rulers began to wonder at the cleverness of Elizabeth. Drake returned to England with the news that Philip was preparing for a great invasion of England; but, so one of his

captains remarked, "Twelve of her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys of the King of Spain's dominions."

It was a year before the damage done by Drake could be repaired, but, in the hope that nearly all England would rise against her godless Queen on its arrival, the Armada left Spain in the summer of 1588. All England rose in arms, and the Queen herself, in coat of mail, rode into the camp at Tilbury and addressed her people in words that raised their patriotism to its utmost height. "I know," she told them, "I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king and of a King of England, too."

There was no sign throughout the land of any aid to be given to the invaders, and neither was there any sign of fear. Lord Howard of Effingham, the admiral, and Drake, the vice-admiral, were playing bowls when the Spanish fleet appeared off the Lizard. Howard would have ended the game and put to sea, but the daring Drake, who had so often defeated this enemy, cried:

"There's plenty of time to win this game and to thrash the Spaniards too."

A point of interest about this sea fight is that it was the first important engagement of sailing ships. Before this time rowing vessels were used. The Spaniards had no idea of fighting and sailing too. Their vessels were unwieldy, and they sought to grapple with the English ships and fight hand to hand; but in the nine days' fight in the Channel the English sailed swiftly in and out, refusing to be caught, and pouring deadly gunshot in among the enemy. At last the Spanish fleet broke up, and the admiral sailed north-

Drake and Howard at Bowls

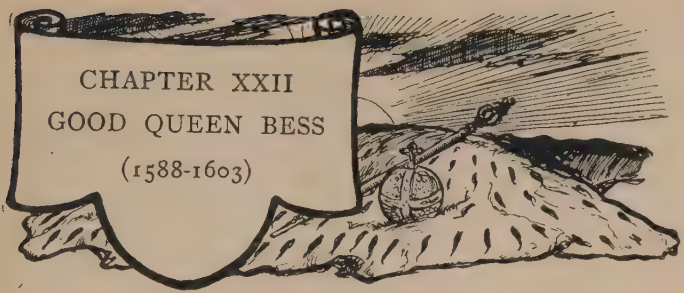
ward, intending to return by the west coast of Ireland. But what the enemy had spared the sea took. The remaining ships of the great Armada broke up one by one in wrecks on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. It was a terrible blow to Spain, and all danger of a Catholic invasion of England passed away.

No peace was made, and the English continued to make their profit of Spanish commerce. Lord Howard and Sir Richard Grenville attacked the Azores in 1591, and Sir Richard made his name immortal by his fifteen hours' fight in the little *Revenge* against fifteen Spanish ships of war. Drake and Hawkins sailed on their last voyage against Spain in 1595-1596, and both lost their lives. The remains of Drake, the most famous of all the sixteenth-century vikings of England, were committed to the deep in far-away seas:

> "England his heart, his corpse the waters have;
> And that which raised his fame, became his grave."

Shortly after his death his fellow-countrymen seized and burned Cadiz, and at the close of Elizabeth's reign England, with the greatest navy in the world, stood foremost in military repute among the countries of Europe.

The Armada in sight



CHAPTER XXII
GOOD QUEEN BESS
(1588-1603)

ELIZABETH had been Queen of England for thirty years when the great triumph of the Armada came, and her own subjects, as well as the world abroad, ascribed the honour of the victory to her. She had husbanded the strength of England, and when the hour of trial came she had inspired her sailors with her own unconquerable spirit. They now believed both in her wisdom and her courage, and the greatest men of the greatest age of English history spent and sacrificed their lives in the Queen's service or gave the best labours of their pens to praising her. No English poet has ever matched Spenser in his own line, and Spenser makes the whole plot of his chief work centre round his queen, "Gloriana."

Her old favourite, Leicester, died in 1588, and the young Earl of Essex, who was only twenty-one years of age, but was brave, venturesome and of a quick wit, stepped into his place. We read of his spending every day in the Queen's company and playing cards with her "till birds sing in the morning." Queen Elizabeth started the fashion of turning night into day. Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh and other modish

young men challenged each other to duels and fought fiercely for the post of "chiefest courtier." Essex damaged his cause by marrying Walsingham's daughter, Frances, a widow by the death of Sir Philip Sidney. The Queen was furious, and he never dared bring his wife to Court. The Queen would give leave to marry to none of the young courtiers who now surrounded the throne. Sir Walter Raleigh married secretly in 1592, and both he and his wife were thrown for a short space into the Tower.

Foot Soldier with Matchlock

Essex's meteor-like career was a pitiful tragedy. If he had been contented with the position of mere Court favourite, and bowed to the whims and caprices of the old monarch, he might have been the most important English subject until his death, but unfortunately for himself he was not content to climb by lowly means. He wished to control the Queen and to shine in the eyes of the nation by his own merits.

Lord Burghley in his old age had become even more unfavourable to warlike schemes than the Queen herself, and he had trained up his clever son, Sir Robert Cecil, in the old, cautious school. Sir Robert was appointed Secretary of State in 1596, and until the end of the reign was as powerful as his father had been. To overthrow the Cecils, Essex plotted only too openly, and England became divided into two political parties, the old, cautious statesmen who supported the Cecils and the young war party, among them Raleigh and

Drake, who gathered round Essex. Essex has the honour of being patron to Cecil's kinsmen the two brothers Anthony and Francis Bacon, whom he advanced because Lord Burghley had offended them by neglect. He was foolish enough, however, not to take the wise advice they gave him. Essex inspired the war against Spain after the Spanish Armada, and persuaded the Queen to aid Henry of Navarre, the leader of the French Huguenots. He himself led a force to France and, to the great anxiety of the Queen, performed feats of reckless bravery. She was at last so fearful for her favourite's safety that she recalled him. It was with great difficulty that he obtained leave to sail in the expedition against Spain in 1596, but it was due to him that Cadiz was captured and England won the glory of planting her flag in one of the chief towns of Spain. When he came home he was received by the citizens of London as though he were a great monarch who had conquered the world. But he would have done better to stay at home. The son of "the old fox," Burghley, had nearly destroyed, during his absence, his influence with the Queen, who gave him neither reward nor praise. Francis Bacon besought him to abandon his great schemes and be content to be a humble favourite, but he insisted on sailing again in the attack on the Azores, and this time the whole expedition was a failure. The Queen scolded and Essex sulked in the country. He bitterly attacked Lord Burghley, who wished to make peace with Spain. At last he openly quarrelled with Elizabeth, rudely abusing her and receiving a violent box on the ear.

Lord Burghley died in 1598, and Essex was

pardoned by the Queen, but he soon made the fatal mistake of his life. Ireland was in a terrible condition, but the ambitious young Earl undertook the task of reducing it to order. His party rejoiced, for they thought him capable of anything, and many poets, including Shakespeare, wrote his praises at this time. They little knew the difficulty of the task. Essex's army disappeared before he could find the wild Irish, who fled to their hills and bogs; he disobeyed his instructions; and, finally, he returned to London against the Queen's orders and threw himself at her feet. For the moment Elizabeth was melted, but two days later Essex was sent to the Tower.

After a few months' imprisonment he was released, but he never regained the Queen's favour, and soon fell to plotting. It was thought that he tried to stir up the people to depose Elizabeth and place James VI of Scotland on the throne at once, or even, it was said, to elect himself as ruler. Enough evidence against him was discovered by Sir Robert Cecil; he was tried and condemned, and the Queen, in great grief, signed his death-warrant. In after times the legend arose that Elizabeth to the last hoped that Essex would send her a ring which she had once given him; and that she signed his death-warrant in a fit of anger because she thought him too proud to do so. Another legend adds that Essex sent her the ring but his enemies kept it back; and that when the Queen in later days heard this her heart broke and she straightway died.

The wars which Elizabeth and Burghley had so long avoided, and for which Essex and Young England had been so eager, brought as usual great suffering to the

An Act to punish Sturdy Beggars

common people. Taxation had often been heavier when England was carrying on foreign wars, but the country was ill able to bear it at the end of the sixteenth century. Enclosures had continued, throwing out of work the farmer and labourer, and disabled soldiers and mariners joined the army of vagabonds roaming about the countryside as they had done in Sir Thomas More's day. Parliament, in 1598, passed new Acts against enclosures, an Act to punish sturdy beggars, and an Act to establish workhouses and appoint overseers of the poor in every parish. The Poor Law, passed in 1601, made some small additions to these Acts, and was the best attempt before the nineteenth century to deal with social distress.

In the last years of her reign, Elizabeth had to face a new spirit of independence in Parliament. All her line, called in to save the country from anarchy, had ruled it as despots. Henry VIII had in his later years led Parliament easily, and preferred to rule with it rather than without, but Elizabeth, as Henry VII had done, avoided summoning the Houses. In the forty-four years of Elizabeth's reign Parliament met on only eleven occasions, and then only sat for a few weeks to vote taxation. Elizabeth was very angry if private members dared to discuss her general policy, and she vetoed whichever of their Bills she pleased. Parliament had often begged her to name her successor, and in 1593 four members reintroduced the old topic, but were thrown into prison, where one of them died. The Puritan members, who were inclined to be troublesome, were terrified by Whitgift's Court of High Commission.

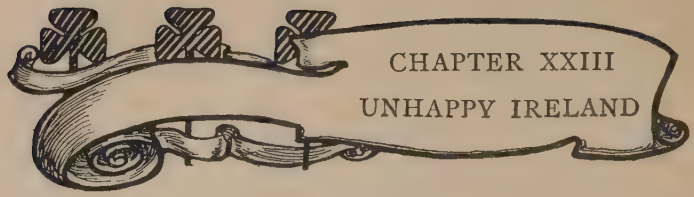
The last Parliament of the reign met in 1601, and showed the dawn of the spirit which was to prove fatal

to the Stuarts. There were many disputes, and the Commons attacked in particular the granting of trading monopolies by the Queen. These monopolies were a great hindrance to free competition, and the commercial classes represented in the House of Commons had determined to end the system. The Queen would grant a monopoly of bread-baking next, they bitterly asserted. Elizabeth put the keystone on her career as a statesman by giving way, and never had loyalty to the Crown risen higher than when the Queen made her last speech to her last Parliament.

"I have ever used to set the last judgment day before my eyes," she told them, "as so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge, to Whose judgment seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good."

These words were to be long remembered in England, and affected the people as the last speech of Henry VIII had done. Early in 1603 the Queen, in her seventieth year, was called away from her earthly throne amid the general mourning of her people.

Spenser



CHAPTER XXIII
UNHAPPY IRELAND

IRELAND was one of the nurseries of mediæval civilization. Its missionaries went forth to preach Christianity and teach the alphabet to the English, and it reared great artists, musicians and poets. It possessed numerous natural resources and its people were skilled artificers and adventurous traders. Its ports and markets were busy, its wares noted all the world over. The fisheries of the Irish were famous; their stones and marbles were considered very rare, and their masons were excellent; their woods were hewn for shipbuilding, houses and fine carving; and their soil produced vast quantities of corn and other grain. The ships that now bring raw cotton to Liverpool for the Lancashire mills, then brought Irish flax and hemp for the Manchester weavers, and Ireland itself was noted for its fine linen manufacture. Every cottager spun linen for her own household. The Irish also were famed even in Italy for the manufacture and dyeing of cloths. Cattle and horses were reared and exported, and Irish tanning and leather-work were widely known. Irish goldsmiths filled the land with treasures. The land was described in the early sixteenth century as "none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, to respect and regard of any other land in this world." But by the end of the sixteenth century the beautiful Emerald Isle had become a wilderness and graveyard.

UNHAPPY IRELAND

Unfortunately for Ireland it was never conquered by the Romans, and therefore had no traditions of a strong central government like most other peoples of Europe. The Danes made inroads, but left little trace, and its Celtic population remained under the old tribal system which the ancient Britons employed when Julius Cæsar landed on our shores. It showed signs of coming unity: Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught were formed into kingdoms, and sometimes one of the kings claimed to be overlord of the others and called himself King of Ireland. Left to themselves, the Irish, after centuries of fighting, would probably have formed a united state.

Toward the rich land of Ireland, William Rufus turned longing eyes, and said that he would gather together all the ships of his kingdom and make a bridge to cross over by. The Pope was supposed in the Middle Ages to be supreme lord of islands, and the Pope gave Henry II permission to subjugate Ireland. Dermot, King of Leinster, having besought the aid of England to conquer his foes, the Norman barons took over strong forces in 1166 and found it an easy task to conquer Dublin and the country round from the peaceful natives. Henry himself crossed in 1171 and received the homage of numberless chiefs. Towns were planted and strong castles were built to defend the "Pale," as the English colony round Dublin was called. In this little district English people, an English parliament and English law were established; but except for an overlordship, which meant very little, Henry had no authority over the rest of Ireland.

The Norman settlers in the Pale naturally became less and less English subjects and more and more Irish

chieftains. Edward III was so concerned at this that he caused the Statute of Kilkenny to be passed in 1366, forbidding English people in Ireland to speak Irish, wear Irish dress, permit their children to be fostered by the Irish, or intermarry with the Irish. England was too busy at home during the fifteenth century to care what became of Ireland. Henry VII was very fortunate in his dealings with the country, but his successors found it necessary to rob their neighbours of their independence.

In the sixteenth century, when all over Europe the nobles were being crushed and monarchy strengthened, Ireland alone retained its primitive tribal organization. It was almost inevitable that it should be conquered by some more modern nation, and it was a life-and-death matter to England to prevent anybody but herself from doing so. We know how Elizabeth disliked the cost of war, and may be quite sure that she would not have spent huge sums (sometimes above her whole income) in reducing Ireland if it had not been absolutely necessary. As it was so expensive, it was natural, too, that she should not reward her deputies, but allow them to make what they could from the unfortunate country.

England had another reasonable excuse for conquering Ireland. Besides the prosperous towns and peaceful peasantry, Ireland, like every other country of Europe, had its robber lords. The deeds of these bold chieftains were sung by wandering harpers in feudal halls when the warriors feasted after battle. England had not been civilized so very long that it should be so proud, but the poet, Edmund Spenser, who held office there, tells us severely of the Irish:

"Of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which

had lived all his lifetime off spoils and robberies, one of their bards in his praise will say, that he was none of the idle milksops that they brought up by the fireside, but most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night slugging in a cabin under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses. . . . That his music was not the harp nor lays of love, but the cries of the people and the clashing of armour; and, finally, that he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death."

England made a great point of putting an end to such disorders; but it was more fear than philanthropy which inspired our ancestors' Irish policy.

When Henry VII came to the throne Ireland was inhabited by the pure Irish—or "mere Irish," as they were called—the English Irish of the Pale and the towns, and a few "mere" English. By this time the Irish regarded the Norman families who had settled among them as their own chieftains, and were deeply devoted to them, particularly to the house of FitzGerald, of Desmond and Kildare, and the Butlers of Ormond. The Butlers had always been loyal to the house of Lancaster, the FitzGeralds to the house of York. When Lambert Simnel pretended to be the Duke of York, Gerald FitzGerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, "the great earl," aided him. Henry VII then sent out Deputy Poynings, and Poynings' Law was passed in 1494, enacting that the Irish Parliament was to pass no laws without the consent of England, decreeing that all

English laws should be binding in Ireland, reviving the Statute of Kilkenny, and forbidding many Irish tribal customs, such as the war-cries of the clans and the dues paid by the tribesmen to the chief.

Ireland, however, could not be reduced to submission without an army, and in the end Henry VII decided to leave it alone. He made the rebel Earl of Kildare deputy in Poynings' place. When the Bishop of Meath heard of Kildare's appointment he cried out in dismay:

"All Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman!"

"No? Then he is meet to rule all Ireland," replied the epigrammatic King.

Kildare ruled Ireland until his death, and was succeeded by his son Gerald as deputy; but the Butlers sent tales to Wolsey, and Wolsey persuaded Henry VIII to send over the Earl of Surrey as Lord Lieutenant in 1520. Surrey found the task beyond him, and begged Henry to crush the country by huge armies, build castles and plant English colonies. This was too expensive for Henry, and Kildare was reinstated. Kildare knew how to rule Ireland; he waxed bold and lawless, but Henry looked another way until he fell under the influence of Cromwell.

Cromwell persuaded the King to cause the monasteries to be pulled down, as those of England had been, and suggested that there would be a second harvest from fines to be paid by Irish traitors. Kildare was summoned to England and died soon afterwards in the Tower. His eldest son, Silken Thomas (so called from the splendid trappings of his horsemen), when he heard rumours of his father's death, rose in arms to avenge him, and attacked Dublin, but in vain. The rising

O'Neill and his Galloglasses awaiting audience

was stamped out by English armies, and the Earl and nearly all the male FitzGeralds were hanged in 1537. Nearly all the lands of Leinster, which belonged to the FitzGeralds, were confiscated and became English land.

The Reformation was forced on the Irish, who had scarcely heard of Protestantism. The people were roused to fury by the destruction of their relics and images. The chiefs seemed to be successfully bribed by the lands of the dispossessed monasteries, and by the English titles which Henry now conferred on them, but they thoroughly mistrusted English intentions. All classes began to join together as pious Catholics against the sacrilegious invader. For the first time Ireland felt the breath of national life.

Queen Mary restored Catholicism, and even when Protestantism was brought back again by Elizabeth there was little religious persecution, but the later Tudors made a more fatal attack on Ireland. They continued Cromwell's policy of confiscating Irish lands.

Mary drove tribesmen into the mountains, carried to England the chieftains, and planted King's County and Queen's County (called after herself and Philip) with English people. During Elizabeth's reign the chiefs were driven to revolt, and their lands annexed to the English Crown. There were three great risings under Elizabeth.

From 1558 to 1567 the north of Ireland under Shane O'Neill defied the English Government. "This O'Neill his like was not a long time by the memory of man," it was said in Ireland. He appeared in the English Court on Elizabeth's summons, with his rough galloglasses, all in Irish cloaks with long hair falling over their shoulders, and thick locks cut short just

above the eye. From fourteen years of age Shane had ridden to the wars, and for a long, weary period he could not be captured. The English deputy even sought to poison him, and at last he was treacherously murdered by an Irish foe at a banquet. For his rebellion the O'Neill lands, nearly all Ulster, were seized.

The next great rebellion was that of the FitzGeralds of Desmond, in 1579. Both the English and Irish

He was tracked to his Lair

slaughtered and burned in a merciless way, but the English, who were victorious, caused the greatest havoc. To starve out the foe they destroyed all corn and eatables, burned every town and village they came to and put all the inhabitants to death. The Earl of Desmond was hunted down like a wolf, the price of £1000 being placed on his head. At last he was

tracked to his lair, and stabbed as he lay sleeping, in 1586. The last of the FitzGeralds, the poor little "Tower Earl," was sent to the great prison of London, and nearly the whole of Munster became English land. The most fertile province of Ireland had become a desert, and all attempt to colonize it by English people failed. When the soldiery had withdrawn, the remaining country people crept forth out of hiding: "Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them, and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks there they flocked as to a feast."

The third rising, that of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, kinsman of Shane, was the one which the Earl of Essex was sent to put down. Essex failed dismally, and was suspected of treachery at home; but it was probably because he was too much of a gallant knight-errant for Irish warfare. His successor, Lord Mountjoy, laid northern Ireland waste as southern Ireland had been laid waste, and, in 1602, inflicted a great defeat on "The O'Neill."

The fighting went on for another year, but Queen Elizabeth, whose memory the Irish hate as they do that of Oliver Cromwell, had the satisfaction of knowing, at the close of her successful reign, that Ireland had been reduced. A few days after her death O'Neill submitted to Mountjoy, but burst into tears on hearing that the Queen of England had passed away. He could have fought a little longer had he known that the English would probably now be busy at home. Hugh O'Neill's rebellion was the last rising of an Irish chieftain.

CHAP. XXIV—ENGLISH SUBJECTS OF THE TUDORS

SOME of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived dwelt in Tudor England. We have finished our story of its wise statesmen, and bold sailors, but have not yet spoken of its brilliant writers.

The Renaissance did not influence English literature until very late, and the popular mediæval ballads rose to a great height of excellence in the Tudor period. The ballad of *Lady Bessie* (that is, Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York) commemorated the battle of Bosworth Field; the outlaw song of *The Nut Brown Maid* was written in about 1500; and the tale of the battle of Flodden was related by the minstrel. The chroniclers, too, continued their work, Hall, Holinshed, Grafton, Stowe and others writing picturesque accounts of their own and bygone ages; and Lord Berners translated into classical English the Chronicles of Froissart. John Skelton, who taught Henry VIII his alphabet, was the poet laureate of his time. He was a wit rather than a poet, and amused himself so much at Wolsey's expense that he came to a sad end, being forced to fly to sanctuary.

The difference between these writers and the writers

of the new Renaissance school was, that they showed no signs of the influence of Greece, Rome, Italy or France, but were pure native geniuses. It was not until the second half of Elizabeth's reign that the great outburst of the Renaissance came in England. There were, however, a few harbingers. Sir Thomas More wrote the *Utopia*; Sir Thomas Wyatt, father of the rebel Wyatt of Queen Mary's time, introduced the Italian sonnet into England; the Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded on the eve of the death of Henry VIII, invented the English form of sonnet, afterwards used by Shakespeare, and introduced blank verse into England; and John Heywood was one of the fathers of comedy. But the Renaissance was almost over in other countries when it attained its heyday in England.

The poets of the French Renaissance called themselves the *Pléiade*, because seven of them set out to make a great literature. Many bright stars shone in the Elizabethan literary sky: Bacon, Hooker, Sidney, Raleigh, Hakluyt, Lyly, Lodge, Greene, Nash, North, Spenser, Sackville, Gascoigne, Oxford, Dyer, Peele, Marlowe, Munday, Chettle, Chapman, Dekker, Middleton, Jonson, Daniel, Drayton were all great lights: and the new constellation included the brightest of stars, Shakespeare. The old simple literature was substituted by a literature bred in the new culture of the Renaissance, but the romantic spirit of the Middle Ages and the humanism of classical antiquity were united in Shakespeare.

The three chief divisions of literature, prose, poetry and the drama, all attained their highest level in our period.

It is strange, but true, that poetry came before

prose; except for the laws, all the literature of the Dark Ages was in verse, and the prose romances of the Middle Ages, which tell us stories of King Arthur and knights-errant, were only old poems turned into prose. Almost the only prose books were the later Chronicles, which were usually in Latin. Not only was verse used for literature, but wise sayings and matters of common information were put into rhyme, probably so that they might be easily remembered, in those days of few books. We still repeat hundreds of couplets like this one of the mediæval farmer:

> "A red sky in the morning is the shepherd's warning.
> A red sky at night is the shepherd's delight."

In the sixteenth century, however, not only was prose used for setting down useful facts, but a few great writers discovered that prose as well as poetry could be a vehicle of the imagination. People began to write biographies, like Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, and religious books and essays, in a simple, eloquent style which has made them classics. They had first, however, almost to make the English language, and their spelling and grammar is often very curious.

Lyly, one of the Elizabethan poets, wrote a prose book called *Euphues* in an affected, unnatural, un-English way which has ever since been called euphuism. Shakespeare often burlesques the euphuists. The Reformation had a very good influence on prose, and saved people from the follies of the euphuists by giving them good English models to copy instead of imitating foreign works.

Tyndale's New Testament and Cranmer's English

Service made men read English, and Latimer's sermons showed that the vernacular had unsuspected powers of force and persuasion. It was a very short step from enjoying to writing it. Another important religious book was Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, written in praise of the Church established by Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth's tutor, Roger Ascham, said it would have been much easier for him to write in Greek or Latin, but he believed that it was wiser to write in the English tongue for Englishmen, and he, also, set the good example. But above everyone else, even Hooker, as a prose writer, stands Sir Francis Bacon.

Bacon

There are many dark spots in Bacon's life. He was a lawyer, and consented to act for the Crown against his patron, the Earl of Essex, when evil days fell on the great courtier. This may have been the reason why Queen Elizabeth never favoured him, or she may have kept in her old age her old faculty for reading character. She failed to recognize that her brilliant subject could write nobly though he could not live nobly. Bacon, therefore, did not rise to greatness until the reign of James I, when he became Lord Chancellor of England.

Scarcely any good poetry was written in England from Chaucer's time until Wyatt and Surrey and a few less important people published their new Renaissance *Songs and Sonnets* in 1557. Very much greater than Wyatt and Surrey was Edmund Spenser. Spenser, although he was one of the most learned scholars of

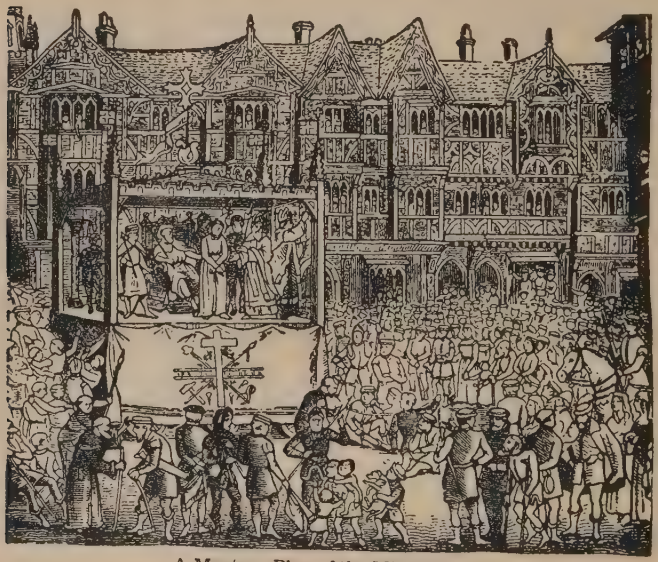
the time, turned back to the Middle Ages and their ideals, religion, allegory and chivalry, for his chief work, *The Faerie Queene.* In each book of *The Faerie Queene* a Christian knight, beginning with the Red Cross Knight, whose watch-word was holiness, rides forth to right the wrong. But, besides penning the most wonderful, sad music ever heard in English poetry, Spenser had power to describe the beautiful and terrible as no one before him had ever described them in English.

Sir Philip Sidney

Sir Philip Sidney did not write so much as Spenser, nor was he so skilled a poet, but some of the sonnets in his *Astrophel and Stella* are among the best we have. Sir Walter Raleigh follows close behind him, and another writer who left wonderful poems was the divine, Dr John Donne. Chapman wrote a marvellous translation of Homer in English verse.

Drama had been neglected much longer than poetry. Since the fall of the Roman empire, and even before that time, no great plays had been performed; for, when Rome accepted Christianity, not only were gladiatorial shows and similar amusements denounced, but play-acting was abolished.

England, however, when she became Christian, did not give up her mummeries on May Day, Twelfth Night and other festive occasions, and very soon the Church itself, in all Roman Catholic countries, began to make attempts at drama. As part of the liturgy, three sorts of play developed at the commencement



A Mystery Play of the Middle Ages

of the Middle Ages. There were Mystery Plays, on Bible subjects, Miracle Plays, about later saints of the Church, and Morality Plays in which allegorical characters represented the Christian virtues. People enjoyed these plays so much that very soon laymen began to perform them outside the churches. Many large towns established what were then known as "pageants," movable stages on wheels, rather like

large Punch and Judy stages. These pageants had two rooms: in the lower room the actors dressed, in the upper room, open to the street, they acted, and sometimes they descended and acted in front of the pageant. The first theatres appear to have developed out of these itinerant pageants. At the Swan Theatre, London, in 1596, the actors played in front of a platform divided into two parts; the back portion being covered by a roof resting on two pillars; the back portion the actors and audience agreed to pretend was another room, while an erection behind formed a third scene for the players. Scenery was never moved in those days; and perhaps you have noticed that Shakespeare, for this reason, sometimes lets his characters describe the place they are standing in, for the benefit of the audience. Theatres then, as now, were shaped like horseshoes and had raised pits and galleries.

Richard Burbage, the Actor, and Shakespeare's Friend

The two chief Elizabethan actors were Richard Burbage and Shakespeare, who both belonged to the Globe Theatre, Southwark. Women's parts were always played by boys, and women might not attend the theatre unless masked.

The Mystery, Miracle and Morality plays still went on in Elizabeth's reign, and the Tudors delighted in a new sort of show called a Masque, but during the century the true drama was born. Secular and modern figures replaced the scriptural and allegorical figures of the earlier stage. First came the legendary heroes of Greece and Rome in classical plays given by the

Renaissance scholars at the universities and Inns of Court. Then followed mediæval historical figures in the "Chronicle Plays." But about the middle of the sixteenth century plays about ordinary men and women began to be acted, as they are to-day, though with much less ease and skill.

Ralph Roister Doister and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* were farces which succeeded in their only aim, that of being amusing. The great contemporaries of Shakespeare, Marlowe, whose lines have been called the

Ben Jonson

Shakespeare

mightiest in literature, and Peele, whose lines have been called the softest, Greene, Kyd, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Chapman and others, made the drama a vehicle of poetry and passion. Shakespeare, the greatest poet of all times, added to poetry and passion the subtle portrayal of character, which none has ever done better than he. This new character study was the line on which the modern drama was to develop.

The England in which these intellectual stars shone showed, as they themselves did, a great change from mediæval times. The Renaissance influenced architecture earlier than anything else, because the Italians

"There was no need now . . . for strong castles"

had many of the buildings of ancient Rome to imitate. Tudor architecture retains for the most part the latest form of Gothic architecture, Perpendicular, modified by the new love for the classical horizontal lines, and for plenty of windows; and it was richly adorned with classical ornaments. It was not correct, but it was more picturesque than the purer work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Henry VIII invited Italian decorators to England, added to his palace at Greenwich and built a wonderful palace called "Nonsuch." Wolsey employed Italians on Hampton Court, Protector Somerset raised a mansion for himself, and many nobles built themselves grand houses in the reign of Elizabeth.

An Elizabethan Town House. Old Houses built about 1560, Corner of Fleet St and Chancery Lane

There was no need now as there was in the Middle Ages for strong castles; and round their stately but peaceful homes the great men and merchants of Tudor times loved to cultivate fair gardens. The towns were not then drear rows of houses with faded parks and dusty squares; in London city itself orchards might be found. Wood began in Elizabeth's reign to give place to stone for middle-class houses; few could afford brick, and the very poor dwelt in huts of mud and wattled sticks, without chimneys or any window save holes in the ceiling and wall. Chimneys and glass windows, however, were being widely used by richer people.

Straw or rushes were the ordinary floor covering, but on festive occasions fresh herbs and flowers were strewn to be trodden on and perfume the air. Tapestries clothed the walls of the great. Oak furniture, well-scoured pewter, gold and silver plate and Venetian glass made the interiors of great houses gay.

Great changes in dress came in in the Tudor period, although people were still forced to clothe themselves

Yard of an Elizabethan Inn showing the Galleries

according to their rank. Henry VIII introduced very grand dresses for the nobility, of rich material and bright colour, thickly covered with jewels from head to foot. Following the King's example, men cut their hair close to their heads instead of wearing it to their shoulders, and shaved their faces. The long, pointed mediæval shoe gave place to extravagantly broad footgear, and men padded their shoulders and puffed out their sleeves to vie with the wide frame of the King.

To show as many materials as possible several coats or "doublets" were worn, all open, with a white embroidered shirt beneath, appearing also at the wrists. Wide, flat hats were adorned by a perpendicular plume of feathers at the side. Long, bright-coloured hose ascended to above the knee. Above them were "trunk hose," under the skirt of the doublet. The mediæval

Costumes at the time of Queen Elizabeth

long hose, descending from the thigh, completely disappeared in Elizabeth's time. The outer coat or "jerkin," a fashionable garment of this time, was also short. Both sword and dagger were worn. Women wore very tight bodices, cut low at the neck, and widening out below into long skirts. The stiff nun-like "diamond" hood gave way in the time of Anne of Cleves to the new French hood, but the headgear became very elaborate under Elizabeth. In her old age the Queen wore a wig of curly auburn hair stiffened with frames and stitched with numberless jewels.

The Spanish farthingale was introduced under Henry VIII and naturally became fashionable in Mary's time. It was a hoop worn under the dress and became terribly large during the reign of Elizabeth. Elizabeth was very thin and long-waisted and brought in the fashion of tight-laced stomachers descending to a point in front of the farthingale. But the chief thing we notice in Elizabeth's dress is the ruff at neck and wrist. The ruff grew and multiplied, and was supported by wire frames and stiffened by starch. "A ship is sooner rigged than a woman!" exclaimed an impatient male of that time. But men's fashions closely followed those of the women. They again cultivated beard and moustache, but they wore brightly coloured raiment, the ruff, long-waisted doublets, jewellery, bracelets, earrings and false hair, and scented themselves heavily with civet and musk.

The Tudors mixed freely with their people, and all classes of society rejoiced in the rough games and sports of "Merry England," although the people were discouraged from playing football, quoits or other "unthrifty" games. Tilting was the commonest of all sports. Bull and bear baiting and cock-fighting were popular amusements. Rural England still danced round the maypole and crowded to the taverns to see the "Miracle" plays from which the Shakespearean drama developed. The shadow of Puritanism had not yet fallen upon our country. We had lost our saints, but witches and wizards were still believed to haunt the countryside. Fairies washed their linen or made "fairy butter" during the night, and beneficent "hobs" (like Rumple Stiltskin) secretly assisted the husbandman in his labours.

Even the common people fed well, and this was the last age of the open house. Suspicious characters were not allowed in the Middle Ages to wander about, and so the traveller could be received with safety. Still in

Boat Tilting

Elizabeth's time the weary wayfarer found refreshment in the great man's hall, a mat of rushes to sleep on and a wooden pillow for his head. The laws of Henry VII became disused under Henry VIII, and

Horse baited with Dogs

great men kept enormous numbers of servants and retainers. With the increase of travel, trade and comfort, new commercial and professional classes

sprang up and became of great importance in English history.

Despite all the talk of luxury England remained a hardy and simple country. The labourer still rose at four, winter and summer. Two meals a day, midday dinner and sunset supper, was the general rule. People performed journeys on foot or on horseback, or crowded into lumbering waggons. Queen Elizabeth in important processions rode on a pillion behind the

Sedan Chair, 1583

Lord Chancellor. In 1564 she introduced the Dutch coach, which became the fashionable vehicle. Forks were not generally used until the early seventeenth century; food was held by the left hand, sliced with the right, and conveyed in the left hand to the mouth. Soap was prohibitively dear. Candles and firelight were the only illuminations. The progressive town had a fountain in its market-place, or even brought water to each street, but water remained a luxury; and sanitary arrangements were of such a primitive

kind that plagues frequently put the citizens to flight. Still, in the England of Elizabeth, as well as in the Englishmen of Elizabeth's England, it was clearly to be seen that the Middle Ages had completely faded away and the sun of modern England started upon its course.

The Globe Theatre in Shakespeare's Time

CITY OF WESTMINSTER PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	
1485	Battle of Bosworth and accession of Henry VII.
1487	Rising under Lambert Simnel defeated at Stoke-on-Trent.
1492	Discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus; Perkin Warbeck lands in Ireland, and is invited to France.
1496	Warbeck is received in Scotland by James IV; Cabot sails for America.
1497	Cornish rebels defeated at Blackheath; Warbeck is captured; discovery of the mainland of America by Cabot.
1499	Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick executed.
1502	Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, marries James IV of Scotland.
1509	Death of Henry VII; accession of Henry VIII.
1510	Empson and Dudley executed.
1511	Henry joins the Holy League against France.
1513	Battle of the Spurs; battle of Flodden Field; death of James IV of Scotland; accession of James V.
1515	Wolsey created Cardinal and made Lord Chancellor.
1517	Wolsey becomes Papal Legate; Luther publishes his theses at Wittenberg.
1518	Peace made with France.
1520	The Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1521	Duke of Buckingham executed; Henry receives title of Defender of the Faith.
1522	An English army invades France.
1525	Battle of Pavia; Francis I taken prisoner by Charles V; Henry's attempt to levy forced loans is withdrawn.

A.D.

1527 Henry submits the case as to the legality of his marriage to Rome.

1529 Katharine of Aragon appeals to the Pope; fall of Wolsey.

1530-1531 Clergy sued for breaking the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

1532 First Act of Annates passed.

1533 Act of Appeals; Henry marries Anne Boleyn; Cranmer declares his marriage with Katharine void and that with Anne legal.

1534 Act forbidding the payment of annates to Rome passed; Act of Supremacy passed; More and Fisher sent to the Tower; execution of the Holy Maid of Kent.

1535 Henry takes title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England"; Fisher and More executed; Thomas Cromwell appointed Vicar-General.

1536 Smaller monasteries and nunneries dissolved; Anne Boleyn executed; Henry marries Jane Seymour; English translation of the Bible set up in the churches; the Pilgrimage of Grace.

1539 All monasteries dissolved; Act of the Six Articles passed.

1540 Henry marries Anne of Cleves; fall and execution of Cromwell; Henry marries Katharine Howard.

1542 Panic and fight of Scots at Solway Moss; death of James V of Scotland; accession of Mary Queen of Scots.

1543 Henry marries Katharine Parr.

1544 Henry invades France in person; capture of Boulogne.

1545 Council of Trent.

1547 Execution of Earl of Surrey; death of Henry VIII; accession of Edward VI; Somerset made Protector; Scots defeated at battle of Pinkie Cleuch; Act of Six Articles, etc., repealed.

1548 Mary Queen of Scots sent to France.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	
1549	Act of Uniformity passed; Kett's rebellion put down; Somerset resigns Protectorship.
1551	Warwick becomes Duke of Northumberland; Somerset sent to the Tower.
1552	Somerset executed; second Act of Uniformity passed.
1553	Death of Edward VI; accession of Mary; Lady Jane Grey proclaimed; execution of Northumberland; the religious laws of Edward VI's reign annulled.
1554	Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt; execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband; Mary marries Philip II of Spain.
1555	Persecution of Protestants.
1556	Cranmer burnt.
1557	Stafford's attempt at Scarborough fails; Philip and Mary declare war against France; the first covenant signed at Edinburgh by Scottish reformers.
1558	Calais captured by French; death of Mary; accession of Elizabeth; Mary Queen of Scots marries the Dauphin of France.
1559	Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis; Act of Supremacy; Act of Uniformity.
1560	Treaty of Edinburgh.
1561	Mary Queen of Scots returns to Scotland.
1565	Mary marries Darnley.
1567	Murder of Darnley; Mary marries Bothwell; battle of Carberry Hill; she is forced to abdicate in favour of her son, James VI.
1568	Mary escapes from Lochleven Castle and is defeated at Langside.
1569	The Northern Rebellion.
1570	Elizabeth excommunicated by the Pope.
1571	Ridolfi Plot.
1572	Norfolk executed; Massacre of St Bartholomew.
1580	Jesuit mission under Campion and Parsons.

A.D.	
1584	Murder of William of Orange.
1585	Raleigh's first colony founded in America and called Virginia.
1586	Trial of Mary Queen of Scots.
1587	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots; Drake's expedition to Cadiz.
1588	Defeat of Spanish Armada.
1591	English forces sent under Essex to assist Henry IV of France.
1596	Expedition to Cadiz under Essex and Howard.
1597	Failure of expedition against Spain under Essex and Raleigh.
1598	Henry IV of France grants freedom to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes.
1599	Failure of Essex against O'Neill in Ireland.
1600	Essex intrigues with James of Scotland.
1601	Insurrection under Essex; his execution; first Poor Law passed.
1602	Defeat of O'Neill.
1603	Death of Elizabeth; accession of James VI of Scotland as James I.

LIST OF SOME OF THE BOOKS CONSULTED IN WRITING THIS VOLUME

History of England, 1485-1547 (Longman's Political History of England Series) (Fisher).

History of England, 1547-1603 (same series) (Pollard).

Henry VIII (Pollard).

Cranmer (Pollard).

England under Protector Somerset (Pollard).

Professor Pollard has himself given a new interest to this period, and has vindicated the character of Froude, decried, to a large extent unjustly, by historians of the last generation.

History of England, 1529-1588; and other writings (Froude).

England under the Tudors (Busch).

Short History of the English People (still the best book for children) (Green).

Henry VII (naturally written from the purely Lancastrian point of view) (Bacon).

Henry VII (Gairdner).

Oxford Reformers (Seebohm).

Reign of Henry VIII to the Death of Wolsey (Brewer).

Chronicle (Hall).

Life of Wolsey (Cavendish).

Wolsey (Creighton).

Life of Sir Thomas More (Roper).

Life and Letters of T. Cromwell (Merriman).

Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the English Monasteries (ultra Catholic) (Gasquet).

Journal of Edward VI (Nichols).
The Seven Edwards of England (Patmore).
The Chronicle of Queen Jane (Camden Soc.).
Elizabeth (Creighton).
Voyages (Hakluyt).
History of Scotland (Fraser-Tytler).
John Knox (Hume Brown).
Ireland under the Tudors (Bagwell).
The Making of Ireland and its Undoing (A. S. Green).
The Cambridge Modern History.
Short History of English Literature (Saintsbury).
Elizabethan Literature (Saintsbury).
An Introduction to the Study of Literature (Hudson).
In Tudor Times (Elias).

There are numerous historical novels for this period. The most remarkable since Sir Walter Scott's time are those of Mr Ford Madox Hueffer: *The Fifth Queen*, *The Fifth Queen Crowned*, and *Privy Seal* have their own romantic interest, and those who are conversant with the original documents of this period (more entertaining than those of any other period of English history) will realize how skilfully the Tudor manner of speech has been caught. For additional novels see *A Guide to British Historical Fiction* (J. A. Buckley, M.A., and W. T. Williams, B.A.), 2s. 6d. net.

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